THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

M. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. II.

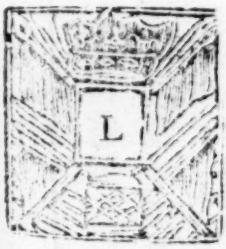
DUBLIN:
Printed by GEORGE FAULKNER, in Eſſex-Street.
M DCC LII.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE AGE OF LEWIS XIV.

CHAPTER XXIV.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS and ANECDOTES of the REIGN of LEWIS XIV.



LEWIS XIV. both in his court and government, appeared with ſuch ſplendor and eclat, that the moſt minute accounts of his life, as they excited the curioſity of all the courts of Europe, and all his contemporaries, ſeem intereſting to poſterity.

The ſplendor of his public conduct diffuſed itſelf over his leaſt actions. There is a ſtronger deſire,

particularly in France, to know the little incidents in his court, than the revolutions of any other country: We find more pleaſure in knowing what paſſed in the cabinet and court of Auguſtus, than in a relation of the conqueſts of Attila or Tamerlane. Such is the conſequence of a great reputation.

And this is the reaſon, why ſcarce any hiſtorian has omitted to relate the firſt inclinations of Lewis XIV. for the baroneſs de Beauvais, for Mademoiſelle d'Argencourt, for the niece of cardinal Mazarin, who was married to the count de Soiſſons, father of prince Eugene, and particularly for Maria Mancini his ſiſter, who afterwards was the wife of the conſtable Colonne.

He had not yet the regal power in his own hands, when theſe amuſements employ'd the inactivity in which cardinal Mazarin, who governed arbitrarily, ſuffered him to languiſh. His fondneſs for Maria Mancini was alone a ſerious affair; for he loved her well enough to be tempted to marry her, yet was ſufficiently maſter of himſelf to be able to forſake her: The victory which he gained over this paſſion was the firſt evidence he gave of the greatneſs of his ſoul; tho' he gained over himſelf another conqueſt of ſtill greater Importance and difficulty, by ſuffering abſolute authority to continue in the hands of Mazarin; gratitude preventing him from ſhaking off the yoke, which began to preſs heavy upon him. It was an anecdote well known at court, that after the death of the cardinal, he was heard to ſay, "I know not what I ſhould have "done if he had lived any longer."

He employed his leiſure in reading books of entertainment, particularly with the conſtable, who had wit and ſpirit like his ſiſters. He was pleaſed with poetry and romances, which by pictures of gallantry and heroiſm ſecretly flattered his own character

character. He read the tragedies of Corneille, and formed in himſelf that taſte which ariſes only from good ſenſe, and the ready determination of a ſound underſtanding. The Converſation of his mother and the ladies of her court contributed not a little to give him a taſte of that refinement of ſentiment, which began then to diſtinguiſh the court. Ann of Auſtria had introduced into it a certain elevated and noble gallantry, which reſembled the Spaniſh genius of thoſe times, and joined with it that elegance, ſoftneſs, and decent freedom, which was no where to be found but in France. The king made a greater progreſs in this ſchool of pleaſure, from his eighteenth to his twentieth year, than he had done in that of the ſciences under his preceptors the abbe de Beaumont, and the preſident de Perigni. Under them he had learned hardly any thing; though it were to be wiſhed they had at leaſt inſtructed him in hiſtory, particularly the modern part: but the books then extant on this ſubject, were very ill written. It was a lamentable conſideration, that nothing but uſeleſs romances had been well compoſed, and that all uſeful and inſtructive writings were ill performed. A tranſlation of Cæſar's commentaries was printed under his name, and one of Florus under his brother's; but theſe princes were no other ways concerned in them, than in having tranſlated, to very little purpoſe, ſome paſſages from thoſe authors, for their exerciſes.

The two Perſons who directed the education of the king, under his governor the mareſchal de Villeroi, were ſuch as ſhould be choſen, men at once both learned and amiable. Perigni was one of the fineſt wits of France, and is the author of theſe verſes, afterwards ſet to muſic by Lully.

Dans vos concerts nouveaux, Muſes, faites entendre
A l'empire François ce qu'il doit eſperer,
Au monde entier ce qu'il doit admirer
Aux Rois ce qu'ils doivent apprendre.

When with new ſtrains ye fill the vocal choir,
How great the hopes of France, O Muſes! ſing:
Inform the world too, whom it ſhould admire,
And ſhew to ev'ry prince, what makes the greateſt king.

Their pupil, however, made but little progreſs under them. The civil wars were the cauſe, and Mazarin was ſatisfied that the king ſhould know but little. His paſſion for Maria Mancini made him eaſily learn the Italian, and at the time of his marriage he applied himſelf to Spaniſh, but with leſs ſucceſs. The neglect of his ſtudies when a youth, a timidity which aroſe from the fear of expoſing himſelf, and the ignorance in which cardinal Mazarin kept him, made the court imagine he would be always govern'd like Lewis XIII. his father.

But there was one occaſion on which thoſe who can foreſee things at a diſtance, diſcovered what he would be. This was in the year 1665; the civil wars were then at an end, he had made his firſt campaign, and the ceremony of his coronation had been performed: The parliament was ſtill inclined to continue its aſſemblies on account of ſome edicts. The king, who was not then ſeventeen years old, left Vincennes in his hunting-dreſs, followed by all his court, entered the parliament in his great boots and a whip in his hand, and pronounced theſe words; "The miſchievous conſequences of your aſſemblies are well known; I therefore

" therefore order this which is met to diſcuſs my " edicts, be now at an end: You, Mr. Preſident, " I command you no longer to ſuffer theſe aſſem- " blies, and forbid all the reſt of you to requeſt " them."

The majeſty of his perſon, the dignity of his countenance, and the commanding air and tone of voice with which he ſpoke, ſtruck them more than the authority of his ſtation, which till then, had been but little reſpected. But this firſt bloom of his greatneſs inſtantly vaniſhed, and the fruit never appeared till the death of the cardinal.

The court, after the triumphant return of Mazarin, was entirely engaged in entertainments, dancing and comedy; which laſt being then in its infancy in France, could not yet be called an art: But tragedy, through the genius of Peter Corneille, was even then exhibited in great perfection.

A pariſh prieſt of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, inclining to the rigorous notions of the Janſeniſts, had often written to the queen againſt theſe exhibitions, from the firſt years of her regency. He pretended that to be preſent at them, was a damnable ſin, and even procured this anathema to be ſigned by ſeven doctors of the Sorbonne; but the Abbe de Beaumont, the king's preceptor, being ſupported by the approbation of a greater number of doctors than what had concurred in the cenſure of the grave prieſt, quieted the ſcruples of the queen: and when he became archbiſhop of Paris, he authoriſed that opinion, which he had defended when he was only an abbot.

'Tis neceſſary to obſerve, that from the time cardinal Richlieu had introduced into the court theſe regular dramas which have made Paris the rival of Athens, he had not only a bench there for the aca-

demy, in whoſe body there were many eccleſiaſtics, but had alſo a particular place for the biſhops.

In the years 1646 and 1654, Cardinal Mazarin introduced Italian operas upon the threatre of the royal palace, and the little Bourbon near the Louvre, and had them performed by ſingers which he had ſent for from Italy. Florence had very lately given birth to this new diverſion, a country at that time equally favoured by nature and fortune, and to which was owing the revival of many arts which were for whole ages utterly forgotten, as well as the invention of many others not known before. In France there were ſtill ſome remains of its former barbarity, which appeared in oppoſing the eſtabliſhment of theſe arts.

The Janſeniſts, whom the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin were deſirous to ſuppreſs, revenged themſelves upon the pleaſures theſe two miniſters procured for the nation. The Lutherans and Calviniſts had behaved in the ſame manner, in the time of Leo X. Indeed, a pretended auſterity is frequently all that is neceſſary for the propagation of new doctrines. The ſame perſons who would overturn a ſtate to eſtabliſh an opinion often very abſurd, anathematiſe the innocent amuſements neceſſary for a great city, and the arts which contribute to the ſplendor of a nation. The abolition of dramatic entertainments would have been a deſign more worthy the age of Attila than that of Lewis XIV.

Dancing, which may even be numbered among the arts, ſince it is ſubject to rules, and gives gracefulneſs to the body, was one of the greateſt amuſements of the court.

Lewis XIII. had never danced but once in 1625, at a ball of ſo coarſe and inelegant a taſte, as gave no

no room to gueſs what the art would be thirty years after. Lewis XIV. excelled in ſerious dances, which ſuited the majeſty of his figure, and did not hurt the dignity of his character. His running at the ring, which was ſometimes performed, and in which great magnificence was diſplayed, diſcovered with advantage the dexterity he was maſter of in all his exerciſes. The elegance and magnificence now riſing in France, appeared in every thing; and though but little in compariſon to what was ſeen when the king took the power into his own hands, yet it was ſufficient to raiſe admiration after the horrors of a civil war, and the gloomy and retired life of Lewis XIII. That prince, a ſickly and peeviſh man, had neither the houſes, attendants, nor furniture of a king. The jewels then belonging to the crown were not valued at more than a hundred thouſand crowns. Cardinal Mazarin left but to the value of twelve hundred thouſand, and now they are rated at more than twenty millions of livres.

At the marriage of Lewis XIV. every thing aſſum'd a yet higher air of taſte and magnificence, which was from that time always improving. When he made his public entry, with the queen his conſort, all Paris beheld with a tender and reſpectful admiration, this young princeſs, who was extremely handſome, carried in a magnificent chariot of a new invention. The king on horſeback by her ſide, adorned with every thing which art could give to his heroic and manly beauty, attracted alſo every one's obſervation.

At the end of the alleys of Vincennes, they erected a triumphal arch, deſigned by Claude Perrault, the baſe of which was of ſtone: But they had not time ſufficient to finiſh it with durable materials. It was compleated only with plaiſter, and

has been ſince totally demoliſhed. The gate of St. Anthony was alſo rebuilt on the ſame occaſion, which, tho' a ſtructure of but indifferent taſte, is, however, adorned with pieces of tolerable ſculpture. Thoſe who on the day that the battle of St. Anthony was fought, had ſeen great numbers of their dead and dying citizens, brought back through this gate, then decorated like a herſe; when they beheld an entry ſo different, bleſſed heaven, and gave thanks for the happy change.

Mazarin, to celebrate this marriage had an Italian opera repreſented at the Louvre, entitled *Ercole amantè*; but it did not pleaſe the French; all the ſatisfaction it gave them, aroſe from ſeeing the King and queen dance in it. The cardinal was willing to diſtinguiſh himſelf by giving a repreſentation more to the taſte of the nation. De Lione, ſecretary of ſtate, undertook to have a kind of allegorical tragedy, compoſed in the manner of *Europa*, in which Richlieu had been concerned. It was lucky for the great Corneille, that he was not choſen to execute this diſagreeable taſk. The ſubject was *Liſis* and *Heſperia*; Spain was meant by *Heſperia*, and France by *Liſis*. The piece was to be compoſed by Quinaut, who had juſt gained a great reputation by the *Falſe Tiberius*, a piece, which, tho' bad, met with prodigious ſucceſs. *Liſis* had not the ſame fortune; it was played at the Louvre, but had nothing beautiful, except the machinery.

De Rieux, Marquis of Sourdac, to whom France afterwards owed the eſtabliſhment of the opera, had at the ſame time, the *Golden fleece, la Toiſon d'or*, of Corneille, perform'd, with all its machines, at his own expence in his caſtle

of Newbourg. Quinaut, a young man of an agreeable appearance, was ſupported by the court, and Corneille by his character and the French nation.

From the time of the king's marriage there was nothing but a continued ſeries of feaſts, pleaſure, and gallantry; which was redoubled at the marriage of the prince his brother with Henrietta of England, ſiſter of Charles II. and was never interrupted till the death of cardinal Mazarin, in 1661.

Some months after that miniſter's death, there happened an affair, the parallel of which is not to be met with in hiſtory; and what is not leſs ſtrange, all the hiſtorians ſeem to have been ignorant of it. There was ſent with the utmoſt ſecrecy to the Caſtle of the iſland of St. Margaret, on the coaſt of Provence, a priſoner unknown, of a ſtature above the ordinary ſize, young, and of a moſt noble and beautiful appearance. This priſoner wore upon the road a maſque, of which the lower part had ſteel ſprings, contrived ſo that he could eat without taking it off. Orders were given, that if he ſhewed any inclination to diſcover himſelf, he ſhould be immediately killed. He remained in this iſland till St. Mars, governor of Pignerol, an officer of great truſt, being made governor of the Baſtile, in the year 1690, went and brought him from the iſle of St. Margaret, to the Baſtile, obſerving always to keep his face maſked. The marquis of Louvois went to ſee him in the iſland, before his removal, where he ſpoke to him ſtanding, and apparently with great reſpect. This ſtranger being carried

to the Baſtile, had the beſt accommodations which that caſtle could afford: nothing which he deſired was refuſed him. His ſtrongeſt paſſion was for linen of extraordinary fineneſs, and for lace. His table was always ſerved in the moſt elegant manner; and the governor ſeldom ſat down in his preſence. An old phyſician of the Baſtile, who had often attended this remarkable perſon in his diſorders, declared that he had never ſeen his face, though he had often examined his tongue and other parts of his body. The phyſician ſaid he was very finely ſhaped, his complexion ſomewhat brown, his voice agreeable and engaging. He never complained of his condition, nor gave the leaſt hint who he was. A famous ſurgeon, who was ſon-in-law of this phyſician, atteſted the truth of this narrative; which has alſo often been confirmed by Bernaville, who ſucceeded St. Mars.

This unknown perſon died in 1704, and was buried in the night. in the pariſh of St. Paul. What increaſes the wonder is, that at the time when he was ſent to the iſland of St. Margaret, no conſiderable perſon diſappeared in Europe.

Chamillard was the laſt miniſter who knew this ſtrange ſecret. The marſhal de Feuillade, who married his daughter, has told me, that when his father-in-law was dying, he conjured him, on his knees, to tell him who this perſon was, who had been known by no other name than that of the *man with the iron maſk*. Chamillard anſwered him, it was the ſecret of ſtate, and he had ſworn never to reveal it.

Lewis

Lewis continued to divide his time between the pleaſures that ſuited his age, and the duties that belonged to his ſtation. He had a council every day, and afterwards conferred with Colbert. Their private conferences produced the fall of the famous Fouquet, in which were involved the ſecretary of ſtate, and many others. The fall of that miniſter, who perhaps did not deſerve to be reproached ſo much as cardinal Mazarin, ſufficiently proves, that the faults which are allowed in one, will, in another be puniſhed.

His fall had been determined when the king accepted that magnificent entertainment which Fouquet gave him in his fine houſe named Vaux. This palace, and the gardens had coſt him eighteen million of livres, which are equal to thirty of the preſent currency. He had built it twice over, and had purchaſed three entire villages, the ground of which was incloſed in his immenſe gardens; part of which were laid out by le Notre, and were then conſidered as the fineſt in Europe.

His water-works, which, ſince the erection of thoſe at Verſailles, Marly and St. Clou, are not worthy of notice, were then regarded with wonder; but notwithſtanding the beauty of the houſe, the expence of eighteen millions, the accounts of which are ſtill to be ſeen, proves that he was ſerved with as little oeconomy as he had ſerved the king. St. Germains, and Fountainbleau, which were the only palaces the king then had at a diſtance from Paris, were certainly very inferior to this of Fouquet's; of which the king was ſenſible, and it diſpleaſed him. In every

every part of the houſe were diſplayed the arms and motto of Fouquet, which were a ſquirrel with theſe words: *Quo non aſcendam? To what heighth ſhall I not aſcend?* The king ordered the device to be explained to him; and the ambition which it expreſſed, did not contribute to appeaſe him. It was remarked by the courtiers, that in theſe arms of Fouquet, the ſquirrel was drawn purſued by a ſerpent. This feaſt was ſuperior to thoſe which Mazarin had made, not only in magnificence, but in elegance of taſte. Moliere's comedy called *les Facheux*, was repreſented for the firſt time upon this occaſion. The prologue, which was greatly admired, was written by Peliſſon. At court the ruin of particular people is ſo often concealed or prepared under the diſguiſe of public entertainments; and, had it not been for the preſence of the queen mother, Fouquet would have been arreſted at his own houſe, together with Peliſſon, on the very day of the entertainment. It heightened the reſentment of the king to find, that Mademoiſelle de la Valiere, for whom he began to feel a real paſſion, had excited the tranſient ardour of Fouquet, who ſpared no expence to gratify his inclinations.

He had made Mademoiſelle an offer of two hundred thouſand livres; but his propoſal was received with indignation, even before ſhe had any deſign upon the king's heart. Fouquet perceiving what a powerful rival he had, endeavoured to make himſelf the confident of her whom he had not been able to poſſeſs, and by this attempt he gave new provocation.

The king, who in the firſt heat of his indignation, had been tempted to have Fouquet arreſted

arreſted in the midſt of the entertainment, which he was then receiving at his houſe, afterwards made uſe of more diſſimulation than was neceſſary; and it might be ſaid, that this prince, whoſe power was unlimited, was nevertheleſs afraid of the party which had been gained by Fouquet.

He was a procureur-general of the parliament, and that intitled him to the privilege of being try'd by an aſſembly of the chambers: but after ſo many princes, marſhals, and dukes had been try'd only by commiſſioners, a ſimple magiſtrate might eaſily have been treated in the ſame manner, eſpecially ſince it was reſolved to make uſe of ſuch extraordinary methods, which, tho' not unjuſt, are never without ſuſpicion of injuſtice.

Colbert induced him by an artifice not very honourable to ſell his poſt, which he did for twelve hundred thouſand livres, which is more than two millions of the preſent currency. The exceſſive price of places in the parliament, ſo greatly diminiſhed ſince, proves what conſideration this body ſtill preſerved even in its declining ſtate. The duke of Guiſe, great chamberlain to the king, ſold this office of the crown to the duke de Bouillon, only for eight hundred thouſand livres.

Fouquet, tho' he had ſquandered the revenues of the ſtate, and uſed them as his own property, was not, however, without greatneſs of ſoul; his depredations on the public had been committed only for the ſake of magnificence and liberality; and tho' he put into the treaſury the money which he received from the

the ſale of his poſt, yet this noble action did not ſave him. They made uſe of an artifice to draw to Nantz a man who might have been ſeiz'd at Paris by a petty officer and two guards. The king juſt before his diſgrace treated him with an appearance of particular kindneſs.

Moſt princes, I know not for what reaſon, generally affect to deceive by falſe ſhews of regard, thoſe of their ſubjects whom they intend to ruin. Diſſimulation is in this inſtance inconſiſtent with true greatneſs: It can never be a virtue, nor in any degree commendable, but when it is abſolutely neceſſary. Here Lewis XIV. departed from his character; but he had been informed, that Fouquet had erected great fortifications at Belleiſle, and that perhaps he might have many correſpondents both within and without the kingdom. But after he was arreſted, and carried to the Baſtile and to Vincennes, it appeared, that his influence was only in the avarice of ſome courtiers, and women who received penſions from him, and who forgot him as ſoon as he had no longer any thing to give. He had no friends remaining, but Peliſſon, Gourville, Mademoiſelle Scudery, thoſe who ſhared in his diſgrace, and ſome men of letters.

The verſes of Hainault, the tranſlator of Lucretius, againſt Colbert the perſecutor of Fouquet, are well known:

Miniſtre avare & lâche, eſclave malheureux,
Qui gémis ſous le poids des affaires publiques,
Victime devoué aux chagrins politiques,
Fantôme révéré ſous un titre onéreux.

Vai

Voi combien des grandeurs le comble eſt dange-
reux ;
Contemple de Fouquet *les funeſtes reliques,*
Et tandis qu' à ſa perte en ſecret tu t'appliques,
Crains qu' on ne te prepare un deſtin plus
affreux.
Sa chûte quelque jour te peut être commune.
Crains ton poſte, ton rang, la cour & la fortune.
Nul ne tombe innocent d' où l'on te voit monté.
Ceſſe donc d'animer ton prince à ſon ſupplice,
Eſt prêt d'avoir beſoin de toute ſa bonté,
Ne le fais pas uſer de toute ſa juſtice.

Vain tool of greatneſs, arrogant and baſe ;
The wretched ſlave of power, and power's diſ-
grace,
Vile drudge ! devoted to the toils of ſtate,
Groaning beneath the burthen they create.
Poor phantom, by an odious name rever'd ;
At once deteſted, prais'd, admir'd, and fear'd :
Contemplate the remains of loſt Fouquet ;
There view the dangers of a pow'r too great ;
And while thy ſecret arts the fall'n purſue,
Fear the ſwift ruin may o'ertake thee too :
Like his, one day, may be thy wretched ſtate ;
Fear then thy poſt, thy rank, the court, and fate.
None, at that heighth where envy ſees thee climb,
Stands without foes, or falls without a crime,
Ceaſe then to urge thy prince's vengeance on,
Thyſelf ſo near the thunders of the throne :
Such guilt is thine, as mercy ſcarce can ſpare ;
Oh teach not juſtice to reject thy prayer.

When theſe injurious lines were mentioned to Colbert, he aſked, whether the king was offended at

at them? and being told that he was not; Nor I neither, ſaid he.

It is certain, that to form a charge againſt Fouquet, was to accuſe the memory of Mazarin. The moſt enormous depredations on the revenue had been committed by him. He had appropriated by acts of ſovereignty, ſeveral branches of the publick income; he had ſupply'd the army in his own name, and for his own profit; he exacted (ſays Fouquet, in his defence) extraordinary ſums, by letters *de cachet*, from the generalities: which had never been done but by him, and for his advantage, and which is puniſhable with death by the laws. By ſuch means had the cardinal heaped together vaſt wealth, of which he himſelf knew not the amount.

I have heard the late Monſieur de Coumartin, intendant of the finances, ſay, that, when he was a young man, ſome years after the death of the cardinal, he was at the Mazarin palace, where the duke his heir, and the ducheſs Hortenſia then liv'd; that he ſaw there, a large and deep cheſt of drawers, which filled one ſide of a cloſet, from top to bottom. The keys had long been loſt, and no one had ever opened the drawers. Monſieur de Coumartin, amaz'd at ſuch negligence, told the ducheſs, that perhaps ſomething curious might be found in the drawers: in conſequence of this they were opened, and were found full of dobloons, gold counters, and medals, which Madam Mazarin threw by handfuls out of the window, to the people, for eight days together.

Cardinal

Cardinal Mazarin's abuſe of his unlimited authority, was no juſtification of Fouquet; but the irregularity of the proceedings againſt him, the length of his trial, time, which extinguiſhes the malevolence of the public, and raiſes compaſſion for the unfortunate; and finally, the repeated ſolicitations, which are always urged in favour of the unhappy, with more ardour than intrigues are carried on for their deſtruction; all theſe concurred to ſave his life. His ſentence was not paſſed, till three years after, in 1664, when of twenty two judges who gave their ſuffrages, nine only condemned him to death, and the other thirteen, ſome of whom had taken preſents from Gourville, ſentenced him to perpetual exile. This puniſhment the king commuted for another more ſevere, by confining him in the caſtle of Pignerol, in which, all hiſtorians unanimouſly ſay, that he died in 1680; but it is certain, that before his death, he had liberty to retire to his wife's eſtate, of which I was aſſured, long ago, by the counteſs de Veaux, his daughter-in-law, and it has been ſince confirmed by the memoirs of Gourville.

Guenegaud, ſecretary of ſtate, who ſold his poſt to Colbert, was not the leſs vigorouſly proſecuted by the chamber of juſtice, which took from him the greateſt part of his eſtate.

St. Evermond, who was connected with Fouquet, was involved likewiſe in his diſgrace. Colbert, who was indefatigable in his ſearch for evidence againſt a man whom he wanted to deſtroy, ordered ſome papers to be ſeized, that were in the hands of Madam du Pleſis-Bellievie, in which was found a manuſcript letter of St. Evermond's, on the peace of the Pyrenees. The letter, which contained

contained nothing but mere pleaſantry, was read to the king, and conſtrued into a crime againſt the government. Colbert, who thought it below him to take vengeance of ſo obſcure a man as Hainault, confined his perſecution to St. Evermond, whom he heated as the friend of Fouquet, and dreaded as a man of wit. The king was ſo extremely ſevere as to puniſh an innocent piece of raillery, made long before upon the cardinal, whom he himſelf did not regret, and againſt whom, all the court, for ſome years, had, without the leaſt cenſure, vented reproaches and invectives. Of a thouſand papers written againſt that miniſter, that only was puniſhed, which was the leaſt ſevere; and this too, after his death.

St. Evermond retired to England, and paſſed the remainder of his days amongſt a free and philoſophical people. The Marquis de Miremont, his friend, told me formerly at London, that there was another cauſe of his diſgrace, which St. Evremond would never reveal.

The new miniſter of the revenues, with the plain title of comptroller general, juſtified the ſeverity of his proſecutions, by re-eſtabliſhing that regularity which his predeceſſors had deſtroyed, and by labouring inceſſantly to increaſe the power of the ſtate.

The court became the centre of pleaſure, and the model of other courts; the king took a pride in giving entertainments, which might obliterate the memory of Fouquet's. Nature ſeemed then to take a pleaſure in giving France the greateſt men in every art, and in aſſembling at the court of Lewis XIV. the moſt beautiful and graceful perſonages of both ſexes.

The

The king ſurpaſſed all his courtiers by the ſuperior dignity of his perſon, and the majeſtic beauty of his countenance. The tone of his voice, which was inſinuating and noble, gained the hearts of thoſe which his preſence intimidated. His manner of walking was ſuitable only to his own rank and perſon, and in any other would have been ridiculous. The confuſion into which he threw thoſe who ſpoke to him, flattered him with a pleaſing conviction of his own ſuperiority. The old officer, who, when he came to aſk a favour of him, was ſo diſconcerted, that he could only ſay, 'May it pleaſe your majeſty to believe, that 'I do not tremble thus before your enemies;' found no difficulty to obtain his requeſt.

Polite converſation was not yet brought to perfection at court. Anne of Auſtria, the queen mother, began to love retirement. The queen conſort ſcarcely underſtood French, and her innate goodneſs was her only merit. The king's ſiſter-in-law, the princeſs of England, introduced into the court the charms of an agreeable and ſprightly converſation, which ſhe improved ſoon afterwards, by the reading of good authors, and by a juſt and refined taſte. She alſo made herſelf perfect in the language which ſhe could not write with propriety at the time of her marriage. She inſpired a new emulation of wit, and introduced into the court ſuch grace and politeneſs, as the reſt of Europe had yet ſcarcely an idea of. This lady had all the wit of Charles II. her brother, embelliſhed with the charms of her own ſex, and with the deſire and power of pleaſing. A decent gallantry reigned in the court of Lewis; that of Charles

II.

II. was more free and unreſerved, and its pleaſures were diſhonoured by indecency and impoliteneſs.

There paſſed at firſt between this lady and the king, ſome of thoſe coquetiſh ſallies of wit, and that ſecret ſympathetic correſpondence, which is frequently the conſequence of little parties often repeated. The king ſent her letters in verſe, which ſhe anſwered. The marquis de Dangeau, was the confident both of the king and the princeſs. In this ingenious correſpondence he was employed by the king to write for him, and the princeſs alſo engaged him to compoſe anſwers for her; thus he ſerved them both, without ſuffering either to ſuſpect that he was intruſted by the other; and this was one of the chief cauſes of his good fortune.

This intimacy alarming the royal family, the king changed their correſpondence into a ſolid eſteem and friendſhip, which always continued. When the princeſs afterwards ſet Racine and Corneille to write the tragedy of *Berenice*, ſhe had in her eye, not only the rupture between the king and the conſtable Colonne; but the reſtraint likewiſe which ſhe had put upon her own inclinations, leſt they ſhould become dangerous. Lewis XIV. is ſufficiently pointed out in theſe two lines of *Berenice*.

Qu'en quelque obſcurité, que le ciel l'eût fait naitre;
Le monde, en le voiant, eût reconnu ſon maître.

Howe'er obſcure thy birth by heav'n's decree,
The gazing world had own'd its lord in thee.

Theſe

Theſe gallantries gave place to a paſſion more ſerious and laſting, for mademoiſelle de la Valiere, maid of honour to the princeſs. With this lady the king experienced the uncommon happineſs of being loved for his own ſake. She was for two years the ſecret object, to whom all the gay amuſements and treats the king gave, were dedicated. A young man, named Belloc, one of the king's valets de chambre, compoſed ſeveral recitatives, which they introduced into their dances, at the queen's, or at the princeſs Henrietta's; and in theſe verſes they myſteriouſly expreſs'd the ſentiments of their hearts, which did not long continue a ſecret.

All the public diverſions the king gave, were ſo many marks of reſpect paid to his miſtreſs. In 1662, a great carouſal was held, (not in the place royal, as we are told in the hiſtory de la Hode, or la Motte, under the name of Martiniere; this place was not fit for it,) but over againſt the Tuileries, in a place which is ſtill called the place of the Carouſal. There were five ſquadrons, repreſenting ſo many different nations; the king was at the head of the Romans, his brother headed the Perſians, the prince of Condé the Turks, the duke d' Enguien, his ſon, the Indians and the duke of Guiſe the Americans. This duke of Guiſe was grandſon to Balafre, and had made himſelf famous in the world, by that unfortunate bravery, by which he attempted the conqueſt of Naples. His confinement, his duels, his romantic amours, his extravagance, and his adventures, made him ſo ſingular every way, that he appeared a man of a different age. Thoſe who ſaw him running againſt the

the great Condé, cried out, *Behold the heroes of hiſtory and fable.*

The queen mother, the queen conſort, and the queen of England, widow of Charles I. who, upon this occaſion, ſuſpended her afflictions, were ſeated on a canopy to behold the entertainment. The count de Sault, ſon to the duke de Leſdiguires, won the prize, which he received from the hands of the queen mother. Theſe entertainments revived more than ever the taſte for emblems and devices, which tournaments had formerly introduced, and which had ſubſiſted long after them.

An antiquary, named Dovrier, invented an emblem for Lewis XIV. it was a ſun darting his rays upon a globe, with theſe words, *Nec pluribus impar.* This thought was in ſome meaſure copied from a Spaniſh device made for Philip II. and more ſuitable to this monarch, who poſſeſſed the fineſt part of the new world, and ſo many territories in the old, than to a young king of France, who had yet given nothing but hopes of his grandeur. The device, however, was highly approved, the arms of the king, the furniture of the crown, the tapiſtry and ſculptures, were all adorned with it, but the king never bore it in the carouſal.

Lewis XIV. has been unjuſtly reproached with the vanity of this device, as though it had been his own invention. The device itſelf has been, perhaps, more juſtly the ſubject of criticiſm. The emblem did not plainly repreſent, what the motto ſignified: nor was the ſenſe of the motto ſufficiently clear and determined: what may be explained different ways, does not merit any explanation

planation at all. Devices, which are remains of antient chivalry, may be proper in feſtivals, when the alluſions are new, juſt, and ſtriking; but it is better not to have them at all, than to have ſuch as are poor and low; like that of Lewis XII. who bore a hedge-hog, with theſe words, *Qui s'y frotte, s'y pique.* He who touches me, pricks himſelf. Devices are to inſcriptions, what maſquerades are to magnificent ceremonies.

The feaſt of Verſailles in 1664, exceeded that of the carouſal, in ſingularity, in magnificence, and in the rational entertainments, which being mingled with the ſplendor of theſe diverſions, gave them an elegance of taſte, with which they had not been adorned before. Verſailles began to be a delightful place, though it did not approach the grandeur which it has ſince diſplayed.

On the 5th of May, the king came there, with a court compoſed of ſix hundred perſons, whoſe expences, together with all their attendants, he defray'd, and alſo thoſe who were employ'd in the preparations for theſe enchanting entertainments. Nothing was wanting in theſe feſtivals, but laſting edifices, raiſed on purpoſe for them, ſuch as were built by the Greeks and Romans; but the expedition with which theatres, amphitheatres, and porticoes were erected, decorated with equal elegance and magnificence, was a wonder which heightened the illuſion; and by being diverſified afterwards a thouſand ways, increaſed the charm of theſe delightful entertainments.

At firſt there was a kind of carouſal, wherein thoſe who were to run, appeared the firſt day, as in a review, preceded by the herald at arms, pages and

and ſquires, who carried their devices and bucklers; and upon their bucklers were written, in gold letters, ſome verſes compoſed by Perigni and Benſerade, the laſt of whom eſpecially had a particular talent for theſe little pieces of gallantry, in which he always made lively and delicate alluſions to the characters of perſons, the heroes of antiquity, or the fable which was repreſented, and to the reigning taſte of the court. The king repreſented Roger; and in his character, all the diamonds of the crown glittered upon his habit, and upon the horſe on which he was mounted. The queen, with three hundred ladies, ſeated under triumphal arches, beheld this entry.

The king, amongſt all the eyes that were fixed on him, diſtinguiſhed none but thoſe of Mademoiſelle da la Valiere. The entertainment was made for her alone, and tho' ſhe was not diſtinguiſhed from the croud, ſhe ſecretly enjoy'd the honour of it.

The cavalcade was followed by a gilded chariot eighteen feet in heighth, fifteen wide, and twenty four in length, repreſenting the chariot of the ſun, the golden, the ſilver, the brazen, and the iron ages; the celeſtial ſigns, with the ſeaſons and hours followed the chariot on foot; every thing was in character: ſhepherds brought in their hands pieces of the palliſades, which they placed regularly to the ſound of trumpets, to which, by intervals, ſucceeded the violins, and other inſtruments. Some perſons who followed the chariot of Apollo came forward, and repeated to the queen, verſes alluding to the place, the perſons, and the time. The races being finiſhed, and the day at an end, four thouſand large flambeaux, illuminated

illuminated the ſpace in which the feaſt was prepared. The Tables were ſerved by two hundred perſons, repreſenting the ſeaſons, the fauns, the ſylvans and dryads, with ſhepherds, reapers, and grape-gatherers. Pan and Diana appeared upon a moving mountain, and deſcended to place upon the tables the greateſt rarities the fields and foreſts produced. In a ſemi-circle, behind theſe tables, was raiſed all at once, a theatre covered with muſicians; the arcades which encompaſſed the tables, and the theatre, were adorned with five hundred branches of green and ſilver, filled with candles, and the vaſt encloſure was encompaſſed with a gilt baluſtrade.

Theſe feaſts, ſo ſuperior even to thoſe in romance, laſted ſeven days. The king gained the prize in the games four times, and afterwards relinquiſhed them, to be diſputed by the other knights.

The comedy of the princeſs *d'Elide*, though it is not one of Molier's beſt pieces, yet made one of the moſt agreeable additions to theſe diverſions; by an infinite number of fine allegories to the manners of the age, and by temporary alluſions, which conſtitute the pleaſure of theſe entertainments, but which are loſt to poſterity. The court was ſtill infatuated with the notion of judicial aſtrology; many of the princes, through a ſuperſtitious pride, ſuppos'd, that nature, to diſtinguiſh them, had writ their deſtiny in the ſtars. Victor Amadeus duke of Savoy, father to the ducheſs of Burgundy, had an aſtrologer always with him, even after his abdication. Moliere ventured to attack this ſuperſtition in his piece.

A court fool was alſo introduced into it. Thoſe wretches were ſtill very much in faſhion, and were the remains of that barbarity which continued longer in Germany, than any other place. The want of amuſements, and the impoſſibility of procuring thoſe that were polite and agreeable, in times of ignorance and bad taſte, made them contrive this wretched diverſion, which is a diſgrace to the human underſtanding. The fool, who was then retained by Lewis XIV. was called Angeli, and had formerly belonged to the prince of Condé. Count de Grammont once ſaid, that among all the fools thar had followed the prince, not one excepting Angeli had made his fortune.

This buffoon was not deſtitute of wit. It was he who ſaid, *That he never went to hear ſermons, becauſe he hated noiſy diſcourſe, and did not underſtand argument.*

The farce called *The forced marriage*, was likewiſe acted upon this occaſion; but what truly deſerved admiration, was the firſt repreſentation of the three firſt acts of Tartuffe. The king was ſo deſirous of ſeeing this excellent piece, that he would not wait till it was finiſhed: he afterwards protected it againſt the falſe devotees, who would have engaged heaven and earth in its ſuppreſſion: but it will ſubſiſt, as we have already obſerved in another place, as long as taſte and hypocriſy ſhall remain in France.

The greater part of theſe brilliant ſolemnities, are often deſigned only for the eyes and ears. Mere pomp and magnificence is but the wonder of a day, but when ſuch a maſter-piece of art as Tartuffe, makes one of the ornaments of theſe feaſts, the remembrance of them is never wholly eraz'd.

Many

Many ſhining ſtrokes in the allegories of Benſerade, which adorned the balls of thoſe times, are ſtill remembred; among which I will here only cite thoſe verſes made for the king, when repreſenting the ſun.

Je doute qu'on le prenne avec vous ſur le ton
De Daphne ni de Phaëton.
Lui trop ambitieux, elle trop inhumaine,
Il n'eſt point là de piége, où vous puiſſiez donner;
Le moien de s' imaginer,
Qu' une femme vous fuië, et qu'un homme vous mène?

No Phaeton, nor Daphne here
Their pride or coldneſs blind,
To be ſo daring, or ſevere,
So raſh, or ſo unkind.
That this can never be your fate,
Requires no pains to prove;
For who would dare to graſp your ſtate,
Or who reject your love?

The chief glory of theſe amuſements, which brought the learning, the politeneſs, and the taſte of France to perfection, was, that they did not in the leaſt incroach upon the aſſiduous labours of the monarch; without theſe labours, he would have known only to keep a court, not how to reign. And if the magnificent pleaſures of this court had inſulted the miſeries of the people, they could not have failed of being odious. But the ſame man who gave theſe entertainments, ſupplied the people with bread in a time of famine. In 1662, he procured the importation of corn, which was ſold to the rich at a low price, and was diſ-

tributed to the poor for nothing, at the gate of the Louvre. He alſo remitted the payment of three millions of taxes.

No part of the adminiſtration at home was neglected; abroad he was every where regarded. The king of Spain was obliged to yield him precedence; the Pope forced to give him ſatisfaction, and Dunkirk was added to the kingdom, at a price glorious to the purchaſer, and ſhameful to the ſeller: in a word, from the time he held the reins of government himſelf, all his actions were either uſeful or noble, and therefore he might make theſe entertainments with a good grace.

Chigi, nephew of Pope Alexander VII. the legate a latare, who came to Verſailles in the midſt of all theſe rejoicings, to make the king ſatisfaction for an inſult of the pope's guards, exhibited a new appearance to the court. Such great ceremonies as theſe are entertainments to the public. The honours paid to the legate made the ſatisfaction which he rendered more compleat. He, under a canopy, received the compliments of all the ſuperior courts, and bodies of the city and clergy; he entered Paris amidſt the roar of cannon, having the great Condé, on his right hand, and the ſon of that prince on his left. In this manner he came to humble himſelf, Rome, and the pope, before a king who had not yet drawn his ſword. After audience, he dined with his majeſty, and all the buſineſs now, was to procure him pleaſures, and treat him with magnificence. The doge of Genoa was treated afterwards with fewer honours, but with the ſame attention to pleaſe, which the king always join'd with his acts of power.

All this gave the court of Lewis XIV. an air of grandeur, which eclipſed every other court in Europe.

Europe. He was desirous that this lustre should reflect from his own person, down to his brother and the prince, and to all about him; that the greatest persons in his court should all have honour, but none have power. With this intention he determin'd in favour of the peers, their antient dispute with the presidents of the parliament, who claimed a right of giving their opinion before the peers, and had been put in possession of that privilege. He determined in an extraordinary council, that the peers should give their opinion before the presidents, in presence of the king, as if they received this privilege merely from his presence, and left the old custom still subsisting in the assemblies.

To distinguish his principal courtiers, he invented large blue coats, embroidered with gold and silver. Those therefore in whom vanity was predominant, thought it a very great favour, if they obtained permission to wear them, and they were sollicited with at least as much eagerness as the collar of an order. It may be observed, since we are now speaking of little particulars, that the dress of these days was a coat, with a waistcoat under it, adorned with ribbands; over this coat was a belt, at which the sword hung: they wore a kind of lac'd band, and a hat with two rows of feathers.

It was already become a general emulation, every where, except in Spain and Poland, to copy the court of Lewis XIV. The order he establish-ed in his household, continues to be observ'd. He made new regulations in ranks and employments; he created new posts about his person, such as that of grand master of his wardrobe; and reviv'd and augmented the tables instituted by Francis I. He

had twelve officers which eat at court, ſerved with as much profuſion and elegance as thoſe of many ſovereigns, to which he ordered all ſtrangers ſhould be invited; which was carefully obſerved throughout his reign. He gave another inſtance of ſtill greater politeneſs. When the pavillions of Marli in 1679 were built, all the ladies found a compleat toilet in their apartments; nothing either for conveniency or magnificence was forgot. Whoever attended him any excurſion, was able to give a repaſt in his own apartment, and was ſerved with the ſame elegance as his maſter. Theſe little things are only eſtimable, when they are ſupported and dignified by greater.

The grandeur and munificence of his mind was to be ſeen in all his actions. To the daughters of his miniſters, at their marriage, he made a preſent of two hundred thouſand franks. What made his reputation ſhine moſt in Europe, was a liberality without example, which was firſt excited in him by a converſation with the duke de St. Aignan, who told him, that cardinal Richlieu had ſent preſents to ſome learned foreigners, who had written in his praiſe. The king did not ſtay to be praiſed, but being certain that he ſhould deſerve it, he recommended it to his miniſters Lionne and Colbert, to chuſe a certain number of French and Foreigners, diſtinguiſhed for literature, on whom he might beſtow ſome marks of his generoſity. Lionne having written into foreign countries, and informed himſelf as well as he could in ſo nice a matter, wherein one cotemporary was to be preferred to another; a liſt was then made out of ſixty perſons, ſome of whom had preſents, and other penſions, according to their rank, their merit,

merit, or their neceſſities. Allati, keeper of the Vatican library, count Graziani, ſecretary of ſtate, to the duke of Modena, the celebrated Viviani, mathematician to the grand duke of Florence, Voſſius, hiſtoriographer to the United Provinces, Huygins, the illuſtrious mathematician, a Dutch envoy in Sweden, the profeſſors even of Alton and Helmſtad, cities almoſt unknown to the French, were aſtoniſhed at receiving letters from Colbert, in which they were informed, that tho' the king was not their ſovereign, yet he intreated them to permit him to be their benefactor. Theſe letters were conceived in terms agreeable to the dignity of the perſons, and were all accompanied with penſions or conſiderable preſents.

Among the French, they had the ſagacity to diſtinguiſh Racine, Quinaut, and Flechier, ſince biſhop of Nimes, at that time very young; and all theſe received preſents. Chapelain and Contin had indeed penſions; but Chapelain was the perſon whom Colbert chiefly conſulted. Theſe two men, tho', decry'd for their poetry, were not without merit. Chapelain had great learning, and what is more ſurpriſing, had great juſtneſs of taſte, and was one of the beſt critics of his time. There is an immenſe diſtance between this and genius; Learning and diſcernment direct an artiſt, but never make one.

No body in France had more reputation in their time than Ronſard and Chapelain: for the nation, in the time of Ronſard, was in a ſtate of barbarity, out of which it was but juſt emerging, in that of Chapelain. Coſtar, the fellow-ſtudent of Balſac and Voiture, called Chapelain the firſt of heroic poets.

Boileau had no ſhare in theſe donations. He had yet compoſed nothing but ſatires; and it was known, that in theſe very ſatires he had attack'd the very men of learning whom the miniſter had diſtinguiſh'd. The king, however, without aſking any one's opinion, took notice of him ſome years after.

The preſents beſtowed on foreigners were ſo conſiderable, that Viviani built a houſe at Florence, with the bounty he received from Lewis XIV. Upon the front of it theſe letters were engraved in gold; *Ædes a deo datæ:* in alluſion to the ſurname of *Diu-donnè*, or God's gift, the name by which the public voice had diſtinguiſhed Lewis XIV, at the time of his birth.

'Tis eaſy to imagine the effect ſuch extraordinary magnificence produc'd in Europe; and if we reflect upon the great actions the king ſoon after perform'd, the moſt ſevere and cenſorious tempers may admit the immoderate praiſes which were laviſhed on him. It was not the French alone who celebrated him; twelve panegyrics were pronounced on Lewis XIV, in as many different cities of Italy, and were ſent to him bound, and richly ornamented with gold, by the marquis Zampieri.

Thus he continued to diffuſe his bounty upon letters and arts, his particular gratuities to Racine, which amounted to four thouſand louisd'ors, the fortune of Deſpreaux, that of Quinaut, but more eminently that of Sulli, and all the artiſts who dedicated their labours to him, are ſufficient proofs. He even gave a thouſand louisd'ors to Benſerade, to pay for engraving the plates of his Ovid's metamorphoſis, tranſlated in rondeaux; a bounty

bounty, which, tho' it ſerved to ſhew the generoſity of the prince, was certainly but ill applied; and might rather be conſidered as a reward for ſome ſmall merit which he had ſhewn in his balls.

It is difficult after this to perceive, upon what foundation ſome writers have reproached this monarch with avarice; a prince who has lands abſolutely diſtinct from the revenues of the ſtate may be covetous, like a private man; but a king of France, who is in reality only the diſtributer of the ſubject's money, can ſcarcely be ever charged with ſuch a vice. Such a prince may, indeed, want a regard to merit, and a diſpoſition to reward; but Lewis XIV. could not be reproached with this. Even at the ſame time, when he began to encourage genius by his liberality, the count de Buſſi was ſeverely puniſhed for the uſe he made of his: he was ſent to the Baſtile in 1664. The amours of the Gauls was the pretence of his impriſonment, but the true cauſe was the ſong, in which the king was treated with too much freedom, and which, upon this occaſion, was brought to remembrance, to ruin Buſſi, the reputed author of it.

Que Deodatus eſt heureux,
De baiſer ce bec amoureux,
Qui d'une oreille á l' autre va!

See Deodatus with his billing dear,
Whoſe am'rous mouth breathes love from ear to ear!

His works were not good enough to compenſate for the miſchief they did him. He ſpoke

his own language with purity, he had ſome merit, but more conceit; and he made no uſe of the merit he had, but to make himſelf enemies.

Lewis would have acted generouſly, if he had pardoned him. He revenged his perſonal injury by ſeeming to give way to the public clamour; nevertheleſs the count de Buſſi was releaſed, at the end of eighteen months; bur he was in diſgrace all the reſt of his life: in vain proteſting a regard for Lewis XIV, which neither the king nor any other perſon believed ſincere.

CHAP. XXV.

A Continuation of the Private Memoirs *and* Anecdotes.

TO the glory, the pleaſures, the gallantry, and grandeur, which engaged the firſt years of his government, Lewis XIV. was deſirous to add the ſweets of friendſhip: but it is difficult for a king to make a happy choice. Of the two men in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence, the one betray'd him baſely, and the other abus'd his favour. The firſt was the marquis de Vardes, whom the king made confident of his paſſion for Madam de la Valiere. The intrigues of the court made him endeavour, as 'tis known, to ruin Madam de la Valiere, whoſe ſituation muſt raiſe envy, but whoſe character ought to have

have preſerved her from enemies. He is known to have ventured, in concert with the count de Guiche, and the counteſs de Soiſſons, to write to the queen conſort a counterfeit letter, in the name of the king of Spain her father: this letter informed the queen of what ought to have been kept from her knowledge; and could have no other effect than to diſturb the peace of the royal family. He added to this treachery, the wickedneſs of making the king's ſuſpicions fall upon the beſt perſons about the court, the duke and ducheſs de Navailles; and this innocent nobleman and his lady were ſacrifices to the reſentment of the deluded monarch. The atrocious practices of Vardes were diſcovered too late, and guilty as he was, he ſuffered no greater puniſhment than thoſe whom he had falſely accus'd, who had been obliged to reſign their employments, and retire from court.

The other favourite was the count, afterwards duke of Lauſon, at one time the king's rival, in his rambling amours, at another, his confident; and famous ſince for having aſpired to a public marriage with Mademoiſelle, which he afterwards ſecretly contracted, notwithſtanding the promiſe he made his maſter to the contrary.

The king deceiv'd in both theſe choices, ſaid, that he had ſought for men of fidelity, but had found only men of intrigue. This lamentable knowledge of men, which is always acquired too late, made him alſo ſay, *That every time he gave away a vacant employment, he made a hundred perſons diſcontented, and one ungrateful.*

The

The war of 1670, gave no interruption either to the pleaſures of the court, the decorations of Paris, or the palaces, or to the king's attention to the government.

He did not leave off dancing in the balls at court, till 1670, at which time he was two and thirty years old. The tragedy of *Britannicus* being acted before him at St. Germain, he was ſtruck with theſe lines:

Pour mérite premiere, pour vertu ſinguliére,
Il excelle à trainèr un char dans la carriére.
A diſputer des prix indigne de ſes mains,
A ſe donner lui-même en ſpectacle aux romains.

See his chief merit, ſee his nobleſt praiſe:
He drives a chariot in the duſty race;
Diſputes a prize unworthy of his hand,
And is the ſport of thoſe he ſhould command.

From that time he never danced in public; the poet reformed the king. His connection with madam de la Valiere always continued, notwithſtanding the frequent infidelities he was guilty of. Theſe infidelities indeed coſt him but little trouble: he found few women that were able to reſiſt him, and always returned to her, who by her engaging converſation, and ſweetneſs of temper, by an undiſſembled love, and even by the force of habit, had made herſelf miſtreſs of his heart, without the help of artifice. But in the year 1669, ſhe perceived that madam de Monteſpan had gained the aſcendant. She oppoſed her with her uſual ſoftneſs, and ſupported a long time, almoſt without complaint, the mortification of ſeeing

ſeeing her rival's triumph. She thought herſelf happy in her misfortune, as ſhe was ſtill treated with reſpect by the king, whom ſhe continued to love, and ſtill enjoy'd his preſence, tho' ſhe was no longer belov'd by him.

At length, in 1675, ſhe had recourſe to the laſt relief of tender minds, which are not ſubdued but by profound reflections. She thought that the heart which had been engaged by her lover, ought henceforth to be dedicated only to heaven. Her converſation was as eminent as her fondneſs; ſhe turned Carmelite at Paris, and ſteadily continued to wear a hair-cloath, to walk barefoot, to faſt with great ſeverity, and to ſing whole nights in the choir, in an unknown tongue; all which was born without ſhrinking, by the delicacy of a woman, who had long lived in much ſplendor, luxury, and pleaſure. In theſe auſterities ſhe continued from 1675 to 1710, under the name of Siſter Louiſa, of the Houſe of Mercy.

A king who ſhould puniſh the moſt atrocious criminal in this manner, would be guilty of tyranny; yet many women have voluntarily ſentenced themſelves to this puniſhment, for the crime of love. There are few inſtances of politicians, who have taken this rigorous courſe, and yet the crimes of ſtate ſeem to require greater expiations than the weakneſſes of love; but they that have the government of ſouls have little authority, but over weak minds.

When Siſter Louiſa was told of the death of the duke de Vérmandois, whom ſhe had by the king, ſhe ſaid, *I have reaſon to lament his birth, even more than his death.* She had likewiſe a daughter

daughter by the king, who of all his children was moſt like him. She married the prince Armand de Conti, great nephew to the famous Condé. In the mean time, the marchioneſs de Monteſpan enjoyed his favour with as much oſtentation and imperiouſneſs as madam de la Valiere had poſſeſs'd it with modeſty.

While madam de Valiere and Monteſpan were yet contending for the king's favour, the whole court was buſied in amorous intrigues; Louvois himſelf felt the tender paſſion, and among the ſeveral miſtreſſes which this miniſter had, who ſeem'd but little form'd for love, there was one madam de Frenoi, wife of one of his clerks, whom he found means to eſtabliſh in the ſervice of the queen. She was made lady of the bed-chamber, and was miſtreſs of the ceremonies upon extraordinary occaſions. The king, in thus favouring even the paſſions of his miniſters, juſtified his own.

It is a ſingular inſtance of the power of cuſtom, and prejudice, that at a time when all the married women were allowed to have lovers, the grand daughter of Henry IV. was not permitted to have even a huſband. That princeſs, after having refuſed ſo many ſovereigns, and having had hopes of marrying Lewis XIV. was deſirous, at the age of forty three, to make the fortune of a gentleman. She obtained leave to marry Pequilin de Caumort count de Lauſon, captain of one of the two companies of a hundred gentlemen, which being no longer kept up, the king had erected for him the poſt of colonel general of dragoons.

There are a hundred examples of princeſſes, who

who have marry'd gentlemen: the Roman emperors gave their daughters to ſenators; the daughters of Aſian monarchs, who are more powerful and more deſpotic than a king of France, never married any but their father's ſlaves.

The princeſs gave all her wealth, computed at twenty millions, to the count de Lauſon, together with four duchies, the ſovereignty of Dombes, the county d' Eu, and the palace of Orleans, called the Luxembourg. She kept nothing in her own hands, but reſigned herſelf wholly to the pleaſure of giving the man ſhe loved a greater fortune than ever any king had given to a ſubject. The contract was drawn up, and Lauſon for a ſingle day, was duke of Montpenſier. Every thing was ready, and nothing remained but to ſign; when the king, aſſailed by the princes, miniſters, and enemies of a man whoſe happineſs they regarded as too great, retracted his word, and forbad the alliance. He had written to foreign courts to declare the marriage, and now he wrote to ſignify that it was broken off. He had been blamed for permitting it, and now he was blamed for forbidding it. He wept for the affliction which he cauſed the princeſs; but the ſame prince, whom his breach of promiſe had ſo affected, impriſoned Lauſon in November 1671, in the caſtle of Pignerol, for having married in ſecret the princeſs, whom, a few months before he had given him leave to marry in public. He was kept a priſoner ten years.

There are ſeveral kingdoms where this power is not in the hands of the prince; but thoſe, who

who though they have this power, make no uſe of it, are more ſecure of their people's love.

Ought a ſubject, who commits no crime againſt the laws of the community, to be puniſhed with ſo much ſeverity by him who acts as the repreſentative of that community? Is not the difference very great, between diſpleaſing the ſovereign and betraying him? Or, ought the king to treat any man with more rigour than he would ſuffer from the laws?

Thoſe authors have done more injury to this monarch, who ſay, * that madam de Monteſpan, after having prevented the marriage, enraged againſt the count de Lauſon, for his violent reproaches, demanded this revenge of Lewis XIV. It would have been at once an act both of tyranny and meanneſs, to ſacrifice to the anger of a woman, a brave man, one who had been his favourite, and who was deprived by him of a great fortune, without having committed any other crime than that of complaining too freely of madam de Monteſpan.

The reader muſt pardon theſe reflections: the rights of human nature force them from me: but at the ſame time, ſince Lewis never throughout his whole reign, did an action of this kind, he cannot, without partiality be accuſed of ſuch cruelty and injuſtice. 'Tis enough that he puniſhed

* The original of this imputation, which we find in ſo many hiſtorians, ariſes from the *Segraiſſana*, a poſthumous collection of ſome converſations of Segrais, which have almoſt all been refuted. The book is full of contradictions; and indeed none of theſe *Ana* deſerved credit.

niſhed with ſo much ſeverity a clandeſtine marriage, an innocent union, which it had been better to have ſeemed ignorant of. To withdraw his favour from the count was natural, but to impriſon him was cruel.

Thoſe who doubt of this ſecret marriage, need only read with attention the memoirs of Mademoiſelle, from which we learn more than ſhe tells us. We there ſee, that this princeſs, who had complained ſo bitterly to the king of the breaking off her marriage, durſt make no complaint of the impriſonment of her huſband. She confeſſes that they believed her to be married, and does not ſay, that ſhe was not; and tho' we could find only theſe words, *I neither can nor ought to alter my choice*, they would be ſufficient to decide the queſtion.

Lauſon and Fouquet were ſurpriſed to meet each other in the ſame priſon, particularly Fouquet, who in the heighth of his glory and power had beheld the count at a diſtance, among the croud of courtiers, as a country gentleman of no fortune; and now thought him mad, when he related to him, that he had been the favourite of the king, and was once permitted to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV. with all the poſſeſſions and titles of the houſe of Montpenſier.

After having languiſhed ten years in priſon, he was at laſt releaſed, but not till madam de Monteſpan had firſt prevailed on the princeſs to beſtow the ſovereignty of Dombes, and the earldom d'Eu, on the duke du Maine, then an infant, who enjoyed them after the death of this princeſs. Her motive for theſe donations, was the

the hope that monſieur de Lauſon would be acknowledged for her huſband; but ſhe was deceived: the king only permitted her to give this ſecret and unfortunate huſband, the lands of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with other revenues, which, though conſiderable, were not ſufficient for Lauſon. She was reduced to the mortification of being his wife in ſecret, and of being ill treated in public, for that reaſon. Equally unhappy at court, and at home, which is the common effect of violent paſſions. She died in 1693. *

The count de Lauſon went afterwards to England, in the year 1688. Always deſtined for extraordinary adventures, he conducted the queen of James II. into France, with her ſon, then in the cradle. He was created a duke, and commanded in Ireland, but with little ſucceſs, and returned in more reputation for his adventures than the perſonal regard paid to him. He died in extreme old age, and quite forgotten, as it generally happens to all thoſe who have experienced great changes of fortune, without having performed any great actions themſelves. In the mean time, madam de Monteſpan was in poſſeſſion of boundleſs power, from the beginning of the intrigues of which we have been ſpeaking.

Athenais de Mortimar, wife of the marquis de Monteſpan, her eldeſt ſiſter, the marchioneſs de

* At the end of her memoirs is printed a hiſtory of the amours of Mademoiſelle and Lauſon. It is the work of ſome valet de chambre, to which are added verſes worthy of the hiſtory, and of ſuch follies as they have the liberty of printing in Holland.

de Thiange, and her youngeſt, for whom ſhe obtained the abby of Fontevraid, were the moſt beautiful women of their time, and all three added to this advantage, a turn of wit particularly agreeable. The duke de Vivonne, their brother, who was a marſhal of France, was one of the courtiers who was moſt diſtinguiſhed for his reading and taſte; it was he whom the king one day aſked, what ſignified reading? to which the duke replied, *Reading is to the mind, what your partridges are to my cheeks:* the duke's face was remarkably plump and freſh coloured.

Theſe four perſons were univerſally agreeable for a ſingular turn of converſation, a certain mixture of pleaſantry, eaſe, and elegance, which was called at that time, the ſpirit of the Mortimars. They all wrote with remarkable livelineſs, and a particular grace; and from hence it appears, how ridiculous the ſtory is, which I have lately heard revived, that Monteſpan was obliged to employ madam Scarron to write her letters to the king, who ow'd to this her ſucceſsful rivalſhip of madam de Monteſpan.

Madam Scarron, afterwards madam de Maintenon, had indeed more knowledge acquired by reading, her converſation was more ſoft and inſinuating; there are letters of hers remaining, written with ſurpriſing elegance: but madam de Monteſpan had no occaſion to borrow from any perſon, and was a favourite long before madam de Maintenon was preſented to him.

The glory of madam de Monteſpan was diſplayed in the journey the king made to Flanders in 1670, when the ruin of the Dutch was concerted in the midſt of pleaſure. The whole was a con-

a continual entertainment, decorated with the utmoſt magnificence.

The king, who had travelled in all his military journeys on horſe-back, went now for the firſt time in a coach. Poſt chaiſes were not then invented: the queen, the ducheſs of Orleans, his ſiſter-in-law, and the marchioneſs de Monteſpan were in this magnificent equipage, followed by many others; and when madam de Monteſpan went alone, ſhe had four of the life-guards at the doors of her coach. The Dauphin came afterwards, with his court, and Mademoiſelle with hers: this was before the fatal adventure of her marriage; ſhe then peaceably enjoyed all theſe triumphs, and ſaw, with a ſecret ſatisfaction, her lover, then a favourite with the king, at the head of his company of guards. The fineſt furniture belonging to the crown was brought into the villages where they lay; in every town was a ball, maſquerade, or fire-works: all the troops of the houſhold accompanied the king, and all the attendants of the houſhold went before or followed him. The tables were ſerved as at St. Germains, and the king in this ſplendid manner, viſited all the conquered cities. The principal ladies of Bruſſels and Ghent, who came to have a ſight of this magnificence, were invited by the king to his table, and he made them preſents in the moſt genteel manner. All the officers of the troops in garriſon likewiſe received preſents. It often coſt him fifteen hundred louis-d'ors a day in different bounties.

All honours, all reſpects, were paid to madam de Monteſpan, except what duty gave to the queen. That lady, however, knew not his ſecrets;

crets; the king made a proper diſtinction between his pleaſures and the affairs of ſtate.

Madame, ſolely intruſted with the commiſſion to tranſact the union of the two kings, and the deſtruction of Holland, embarked with part of the French at Dunkirk, on board the fleet of Charles II. king of England, her brother; ſhe took with her Mademoiſelle de Kerowal, afterwards ducheſs of Portſmouth, whoſe beauty equalled that of madam de Monteſpan, and was afterwards in England (but with more influence) what Monteſpan was in France. Charles II. was governed by her, even to the laſt moment of his life; and tho' he was often inconſtant to her, he was always under her direction. No woman ever preſerved her beauty longer: at the age of near ſeventy years, her perſon ſtill appeared noble, agreeable, and even unimpaired by time.

Madame went to Canterbury to meet her brother, and returned with the glory of having ſucceeded, for which ſhe was ſtill rejoicing, when a ſudden and lamentable death, ſnatched her away at the age of ſix and twenty, the 30th of June 1672. The conſternation and grief of the court was augmented by the manner of her death. It was generally believed ſhe was poiſoned; Montague the Engliſh embaſſador was perſuaded of it, the court did not doubt it, and all Europe publickly proclaimed it. One of her huſband's old domeſtics has told me the perſon who, according to him, gave the poiſon. "This man," ſaid he, "who was not rich, withdrew immediately afterwards into Normandy, where he "bought an eſtate, on which he lived with gran-

"deur

" deur a long time : the poiſon, added he, was
" powder of diamond mixed inſtead of ſugar with
" ſtrawberries."

The court and city believed the princeſs had been poiſoned with a glaſs of water of ſuccory, after which ſhe felt terrible pains, and ſoon after was ſeis'd with the agonies of death ; but the natural malignity of mankind, and a fondneſs for extraordinary accidents, were the only inducements to this general perſuaſion. The glaſs of water could not be poiſoned, ſince madam de la Faiete and another perſon drank what remained, witbout receiving the leaſt injury from it ; and the powder of diamond has no more venom in it, than the powder of coral. The princeſs had been a long time ill of an abſceſs, which had formed itſelf in the liver. She laboured under an ill ſtate of health, and had been delivered of a child abſolutely putrefied : her huſband, too much ſuſpected in Europe, had neither before nor after this incident been guilty of any wicked action ; and criminals who have committed but one great crime are ſeldom found : human nature would be too wretched, if it was as common to commit enormities as to believe them.

'Tis pretended that the chevalier de Lorrain, the favourite of the duke of Orleans, to revenge the baniſhment and impriſonment which his miſbehaviour to the princeſs drew upon him, was induced to commit this horrid crime. It ought to be obſerved, that the chevalier de Lorrain was then at Rome, and that it is a very difficult thing for a knight of Malta, but twenty years old, at that diſtance, to procure the death of a great princeſs at Paris.

It

It is but too certain, that the weakneſs and indiſcretion of the viſcount de Turenne were the firſt cauſe of all theſe odious reports, which people ſtill take pleaſure in reviving. He was at the age of ſixty, the lover and the dupe of madam de Coatquen, as he had been of madam de Longueville. To that lady he revealed the ſecret of ſtate, which had been concealed from the king's brother. Madam de Coatquen, who loved the chevalier de Lorrain, told it to him, and he informed the duke of Orleans of it. The family of this prince became victims to the bitterneſs of reproach and jealouſy. Theſe troubles broke out before the princeſs's voyage to England, and redoubled at her return. The furious paſſions of the duke of Orleans, the quarrels of his favourites with the friends of the princeſs, filled the houſe with confuſion and grief. The princeſs, ſometime before her death, gently reproached the marchioneſs de Coatquen with the miſeries of which ſhe had been the cauſe: this lady, throwing herſelf on her knees at her bed-ſide, bathed her hands with tears, and only replied with theſe verſes of Venceſlas,

J'allais——j'étais——l'amour a
Sur moi tant d'empire
Je m'égare, Madame, & ne puis que
Vous dire.

I was going—— I was——
Love rules in my breaſt with ſuch abſolute ſway,
That my thoughts are confus'd, and I nothing can ſay.

The chevalier de Lorrain, author of theſe diſſentions, was firſt ſent by the king to Pierre Enciſe; the

the count de Marſan, of the family of Lorrain, and the marquis, ſince marſhal de Villeroi, were baniſhed. To conclude, the natural death of this unhappy princeſs was conſidered as the criminal conſequence of theſe diſturbances.

What confirmed the public in the opinion of her being poiſoned, was, that this crime now firſt began to be known in France. This revenge of cowards was never practis'd amidſt the horrors of a civil war. But this crime, through a fatal ſingularity, infected France at the time when the manners of the people were ſoftened by pleaſures and glory; and it inſinuated itſelf thus into antient Rome in the happieſt days of that republic.

Two Italians, one of whom was named Exili, laboured a long time with a German apothecary, named Glaſer, in ſearch of what they called the *Philoſopher's ſtone:* in this ſearch, the two Italians loſt all the little they were poſſeſſed of, and endeavoured by guilt to repair the misfortune their folly had brought upon them. They ſecretly ſold poiſons. Confeſſion, the greateſt reſtraint of human wickedneſs, (but of which thoſe make a very ill uſe, who believe, that the power of thus expiating crimes, gives them liberty to commit them) confeſſion, I ſay, diſcovered to the grand penitentiary of Paris, that ſome perſons had dy'd by poiſon. he gave information of this to the government; the two ſuſpected Italians were ſent to the Baſtile, where one of them died. Exili continued there without being convicted, and from the dark receſſes of his priſon diſperſed theſe fatal ſecrets throughout Paris, which coſt the life of the lieutenant Daubrai and his family, and at laſt cauſed the court of poiſons to be erected, called *la chambre ardente.*

The

The ſource of theſe horrible events was love. The Marquis de Brinvilliers, ſon-in-law of the lieutenant Daubrai, invited St. Croix, a captain in his regiment to lodge in his houſe. His too agreeable perſon alarmed the virtue of the marchioneſs; ſhe indeavoured to inſpire her huſband with fear of the conſequences, but he obſtinately perſiſted in keeping this young man in the houſe with his wife, who was young, handſome, and tender: that which was naturally to be expected happened, they conceived a paſſion for each other. The lieutenant, father to the marchioneſs, was severe and imprudent enough to ſollicit a letter de cachet, and got the captain ſent to the Baſtile. St. Croix was unhappily put into the ſame chamber with Exili. This Italian taught him how to revenge himſelf: the ſequel, which cannot be heard without horror, is known.

The marchioneſs did not make any attempt on the life of her huſband, who pitied and excuſed the paſſion himſelf had cauſed; but the fury of revenge, excited her to poiſon her father, her two brothers and ſiſter. Amidſt ſo many crimes, ſhe preſerved her religion, and went often to confeſſion, and when ſhe was arreſted at Liege, there was found a general confeſſion written with her own hand, which furniſhed preſumptions againſt her, but not evidence. It is not true, that ſhe had firſt tried theſe poiſons in the hoſpitals, as was

* The hiſtory of Lewis XIV, under the name of Martiniere, calls him the abbe de la Croix. This hiſtory, every where faulty, confounds names, dates and events.

commonly reported, and as is *ſaid* in the *cauſes celebres*, a work of an advocate without practice, and written only for common readers. But it is true, that both ſhe and St. Croix were privately combined with perſons accuſed afterwards of the ſame crimes. She was firſt beheaded, and then burnt, in 1680; but from 1670, when Exili had begun to compound poiſons, to 1680, this crime infected Paris. It cannot be denied that Pennautier the receiver general of the clergy, and friend of that lady, was accuſed ſome time afterwards of having practiſed her ſecrets; and that it coſt him half his ſubſtance to ſuppreſs the evidence.

La Voiſin, La Vigoureux, a prieſt named Le Sage, and others, traded with the ſecrets of Exili under pretence of ſatisfying inquiſitive and weak minds, by predictions and apparitions of ſpirits. The crime was believed to be more general than it realy was. The *chambre ardente*, or burning court was eſtabliſhed at the Arſenal, near the Baſtile in 1680. Perſons of the greateſt quality were cited to appear before it; among others, two nieces of cardinal Mazarin, the dutcheſs of Bouillon, and the counteſs de Soiſſons, mother of prince Eugene. They were not ordered into cuſtody, as we are told in the hiſtory of Reboulet. This author is equally deceived in ſaying, that the dutcheſs de Bouillon appeared with ſo many friends before the judges, that ſhe had nothing to apprehend, even though ſhe had been guilty. What friends in theſe times would have been able to reſcue any perſon from juſtice? The dutcheſs de Bouillon was accuſed only of a vain and ridiculous curioſity. Things of a more ſerious nature were charged

charged upon the counteſs de Soiſſons, who retired to Bruſſels. The marſhal de Luxembourg was confined in the Baſtile, and ſubmitted to a long examination, after which he remained fourteen months in priſon. 'Tis impoſſible to conceive the ſhocking reports theſe accuſations gave riſe to in Paris. The puniſhment of la Voiſin and his accomplices, who died at the ſtake, put an end to crimes and enquiries. This abominable wickedneſs was confined to a few individuals only, and did not corrupt the better and much more general manners of the nation; but it left in the minds of men a fatal propenſity to ſuſpect natural deaths of violence.

What was believed to be the unhappy fate of madam Henrietta of England, was afterwards thought to be her daughter's Maria Louiſa, who was married in 1679 to Charles II. king of Spain. This young princeſs ſet out with regret for Madrid. Mademoiſelle had often ſaid to Monſieur, the king's brother, *Do not bring your daughter ſo often to court, ſhe will be too miſerable in other places.* This young princeſs was deſirous of marrying the Dauphin. *I make you queen of Spain,* ſaid the king to her, *what could I do more for my daughter? Ah,* replied ſhe, *'tis in your power to do more for your niece.* She was ſnatched from the world in 1689, at the ſame age as her mother. It was undoubtedly believed, that the Auſtrian miniſters of Charles II. would get rid of her, becauſe ſhe loved her own country, and might prevent the king her huſband from declaring for the allies againſt France; they even ſent her from Verſailles what they believed to be a counter poiſon, which was a very uncertain precaution; for as there

is no ſuch thing as an univerſal antidote, what might cure one diſtemper, may ſtrengthen another. This imaginary antidote arrived after her death. Thoſe who read the memoirs compiled by the marquis de Dangeau, will find, that the king ſpoke theſe words at ſupper. "The queen of Spain is "dead, poiſoned by eating of an Eel pye; and the "counteſs de Pernits, and the Camera's, Zapeita "and Nina who eat of it after her, are alſo dead "of the ſame poiſon."

After reading ſuch a ſtrange anecdote in theſe manuſcript memoirs, ſaid to be compoſed with great care by a courtier, who during forty years was almoſt always with Lewis XIV; I ſhould nevertheleſs doubt the truth of this. I inquired of ſome of the king's old domeſtics, whether it was true, that the monarch, who was always circumſpect in his diſcourſe, had ever ſpoke ſuch imprudent words? They all aſſured me that nothing could be more falſe. I alſo aſked ſome conſiderable perſons who came from Spain, whether it was true, that thoſe three ladies had died with the queen; they proteſted to me, that all three had ſurvived their miſtreſs a long time. To conclude, I am convinced that the marquis de Dangeau's memoirs which have been looked upon as a valuable monument, was nothing but the reports of the day, written by one of the domeſtics; and I dare ſay, this will ſufficiently appear by the ſtile, the trifles, and the falſhood with which that collection is filled. After all theſe melancholy ideas into which we have been led by the death of Henrietta of England, we will now return to the adventures which happened at court after her death.

The

The princeſs Palatine ſucceeded her a year afterwards, and was mother of the duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom. To enable her to marry Monſieur, there was a neceſſity for her renouncing Calviniſm; but ſhe always preſerved for her former religion. that ſecret reſpect which it is difficult to ſhake off, when it has been impreſſed upon the heart in childhood.

The unfortunate adventure of one of the queen's maids of honour in the year 1673, was the cauſe of a new eſtabliſhment at court. This diſaſter is known by a ſonnet of L'Averton, whoſe verſes have been ſo often quoted.

Toi que l'amour fit par un crime,
Et que l'honneur defait par un crime a ſon tour,
Funeſte ouvrage de l'amour,
De l'honneur funeſte victime, &c.

Thou who by love waſt criminally form'd,
Deſtroy'd by guilty honour in its turn,
Of love the fatal iſſue we ſhould mourn,
The victim dire of honour, to be ſcorn'd, &c.

The dangers inſeparable from the ſtation of a maid of honour, in a gay and voluptuous court, determined them to change the twelve maids of honour which adorned the queen's court, for twelve ladies of the palace; and from that time the queen's houſhold has always been thus compoſed. This eſtabliſhment made the court more numerous and magnificent, by adding to it the relations and huſbands of theſe ladies, which improved its ſociety, and produced greater opulence.

The princeſs of Bavaria, wife of the Dauphin, at her firſt appearance at court, diffuſed into it new ſplendor and vivacity; yet the marchioneſs de Monteſpan continued to attract the greateſt attention: but at laſt, ſhe alſo ceaſed to pleaſe, and the haughty and inſolent expreſſions of her grief, could not reclaim a heart which had voluntarily forſaken her. Nevertheleſs, ſhe ſtill remained at court, where ſhe had an important employment, which was ſuperintendant of the queens houſhold, and ſtill preſerved ſome intereſt with the king by her children, by habit, and by a long eſtabliſhed influence.

All the appearances of friendſhip and reſpect continued to be ſhewn to her, which, however, ſhe did not think a ſufficient compenſation; for the king, though concerned at her extreme uneaſineſs, of which he was the cauſe, yet being compelled by other inclinations, he began to taſte a pleaſure in the converſation of madam de Maintenon, which he no longer enjoyed with his former miſtreſs. He was at once divided between madam de Monteſpan, whom he was not able to quit, Mademoiſelle de Fontange, whom he loved, and madam de Maintenon whoſe converſation became neceſſary to his fatigued mind. Theſe three rivals for his favour held all the court in ſuſpence. It appears to the honour of Lewis XIV. that none of his intrigues had any influence on public affairs; and that love which agitated the court, never cauſed the leaſt diſturbance in the government. In my opinion nothing can better prove that Lewis XIV. had a ſoul as great as his heart was tender.

I ſhould

I ſhould even think, that theſe court intrigues, which are foreign to the ſtate, ought not to have a place in hiſtory, did not the name of Lewis XIV. make every thing intereſting; and had not theſe myſteries been unveiled by ſo many hiſtorians, who in general have miſrepreſented them.

CHAP. XXVI.

The Concluſion of the ANECDOTES.

MAdam de Fontagne became with child in 1680, and was created a dutcheſs, but did not long enjoy her good fortune. She died a year after, of an illneſs contracted in her lying in, and the ſon ſhe had by the king did not ſurvive his mother.

The marchioneſs de Monteſpan, though ſhe had now no declared rival, no longer poſſeſſed a heart weary of her and her complaints. Almoſt all men, when they have loſt the ſprightlineſs of youth, find occaſion for the ſociety of an eaſy and complaiſant woman. The weight of buſineſs in particular makes this conſolation neceſſary. The new favourite madam de Maintenon, who was ſenſible of the ſecret power which ſhe was daily increaſing, behaved with that art which is natural to women, and not unpleaſing to men.

She wrote one day to madam de Frontenac, her couſin, in whom ſhe repoſed an abſolute confidence, "I ſend him away always in "affliction, but never in deſpair. At this time, when her favour was increaſing, and that of Madam de Monteſpan was upon the decline, theſe two rivals ſaw each other every day, ſometimes with a ſecret bitterneſs; at other times

times with a tranſient confidence, which the neceſſity of ſpeaking, and wearineſs of conſtraint, introduced into their converſations. They agreed each of them to write memoirs of all that paſſed at court. This work was not carried to any great length. Madam de Monteſpan in the laſt years of her life, uſed to divert herſelf with reading ſome paſſages out of theſe memoirs to her friends. Devotion, which mingled itſelf in all theſe ſecret intrigues, confirmed madam de Maintenon in favour, and removed madam de Monteſpan. The king reproached himſelf for his paſſion for a married woman, and felt the force of this ſcruple the more, as he no longer felt the paſſion of love. This perplexing ſituation laſted 'till 1685, a year memorable for the revocation of the edict of Nantz: that time exhibited very different ſcenes, the deſpair and flight of one part of the nation on one ſide; on the other, new feaſts at Verſailles, the building of Trianon and Marli, where charming palaces were raiſed by doing violence to nature, and gardens, wherein all the powers of art were exhauſted.

The marriage of the grandſon of the great Condé with mademoiſelle de Nantes, the king's daughter by madam de Monteſpan, was the laſt triumph of this miſtreſs, who then began to withdraw from court.

The king afterwards married two more children he had by her; Mademoiſelle de Blois to the duke de Chartres, whom we have ſince ſeen regent of the kingdom; and the duke de Maine, to Louiſa Benedicta of Bourbon, grand-daughter of the great Condé, and ſiſter of monſieur the duke, a princeſs celebrated for her wit, and her taſte in

the fine arts. They who have only approached the palace royal, or the palace de Sceaux, know the falſehood of thoſe popular reports, which are collected in ſo many hiſtories, concerning theſe marriages. There are above twenty volumes, in which it is ſaid, that the houſes of Orleans and Condé thought themſelves diſhonoured by theſe propoſals: one may there read, that the princeſs, mother to the duke of Chartres, menanced her ſon, and even that ſhe beat him. The anecdotes of the conſtitution gravely relate, that the king having made uſe of the abbe de Bois; under-preceptor to the duke de Chartres, to compleat the negociation, that this abby ſucceeded with difficulty, and demanded a cardinal's hat for a recompence. Whatever concerned the court, is in many hiſtories related in this manner.

Before the celebration of the marriage of Monſieur the duke with Mademoiſelle de Nantes, the marquis de Segnelai gave the king an entertainment on this occaſion, worthy of that monarch, in the gardens de Sceaux, laid out by Le Notre, with as much taſte as thoſe of Verſailles. In theſe gardens was performed *L'idylle de la paix*, written by Racine. There was a new carouſal in Verſailes, and after the marriage the king diſplay'd an uncommon magnificence: the firſt hint of which cardinal Mazarin had given in 1656. In the great hall of the palace at Marli four ſhops were formed, and furniſhed with all that the induſtry and ingenuity of the beſt artiſts in Paris could produce, either rich or curious. Theſe four ſhops were ſo many ſuperb ornaments, which repreſented the four ſeaſons of the year. Madam de Monteſpan was in one of them, with the Dauphin. Her ri-

val

val was in another, with the duke of Maine; the two new married perſons had each one: Monſieur the duke was with madam de Thiange, and the Dutcheſs, whoſe youth would not allow her to have a man with her, was with the dutcheſs de Chevreuſe. The ladies and gentlemen named for this excurſion, drew lots for the trinkets with which theſe ſhops were furniſhed; and thus the king made preſents to all the court in a manner worthy of himſelf. The lottery made by Cardinal Mazarin was leſs ingenious and leſs ſplendid: ſuch lotteries were practiſed formerly by the Roman emperors; but none of them graced their magnificence with ſo much gallantry as Lewis XIV.

After the marriage of her daughter, madam de Monteſpan appeared no more at court, but lived with great dignity at Paris. She had a great revenue, tho' but for her life: the king paid her a penſion of a thouſand louis-d'ors a month; ſhe went every year to drink the waters of Bourbon, and uſed to marry the girls about that place, and give them portions. She was no longer at that age when her imagination could be ſtruck with ſuch forcible impreſſions, as to ſend her into a monaſtery; ſhe died at Bourbon in 1717.

The ſame year in which Mademoiſelle de Nantes was married to Monſieur the duke, the prince of Condé died at Chantilli, aged ſixty-ſix years. His illneſs was occaſioned by an effort he made to go and ſee the dutcheſs, at that time ill of the ſmall pox. One may judge by this ſolicitude, which coſt him his life, whether he had any diſlike to the marriage of his grandſon with this daughter of the king's by madam de Monteſpan, as was related

in

in all the lying gazettes, with which Holland was then infected. We are alſo told in a hiſtory of the prince of Condé, produced in the ſame ſeminary of ignorance and impoſture, that the king took a pleaſure on every occaſion to mortify this prince, and that at the marriage of the princeſs of Conti, daughter of madam de Valiere, the ſecretary of ſtate refuſed to give him the title of *high and mighty lord*, as if this was the title given to the princes of the blood. The author who compoſed the hiſtory of Lewis XIV. at Avignon, partly upon theſe wretched memoirs, muſt have been very ignorant of the world and the manners of the court, to relate ſuch falſhoods. Mean time, after the marriage of Madam the dutcheſs, after the total eclipſe of the mother, the victorious madam de Maintenon gained ſuch an aſcendant, and inſpired Lewis XIV with ſo much fondneſs and ſo many ſcruples, that the king following the advice of father de la Chaiſe, ſecretly married her in 1686, in a little chapel, at the end of an apartment, ſince uſed by the duke of Burgundy. The marriage was performed without the leaſt contract or ſtipulation whatever. The archbiſhop of Paris, Harlai de Chamvalon, gave them the nuptial benediction; the confeſſor was preſent at the ceremony, and Montchevreuil and Bontems, firſt valets de chambre, attended as witneſſes. The knowledge of this fact cannot now be ſuppreſſed, ſince it is related by ſo many authors; who nevertheleſs are ignorant with reſpect to names, places, and dates. Lewis XIV was then in the forty eighth year of his age, and the lady he married in her fifty ſecond. The prince, who was crowned with glory, was deſirous to relieve the fatigues

tigues of government by the innocent pleaſures of a private life. This marriage engaged him in nothing unworthy of his rank. It was always diſputed at court whether madam de Maintenon was married or not: they regarded her as the king's choice, without paying her the reſpect due to a queen.

The fate of this lady among us appeared very ſtrange, altho' hiſtory records many examples of fortunes ſtill greater, and more diſtinguiſhed, which have aroſe from leſs beginnings. The marchioneſs de St. Sebaſtian, whom Victor Amadeus, king of Sardinia, married, was not above madam de Maintenon, and the empreſs Catharine was greatly below her.

Madam de Maintenon was deſcended from a very ancient family; ſhe was the daughter of Theodore Agrippa D'aubigne, gentleman in ordinary of the chamber to Henry IV. Her father Conſtantius D'aubigne being deſirous to ſettle in Carolina, and having addreſſed himſelf to the Engliſh for that purpoſe, was impriſoned in the caſtle Trompette, and was delivered from thence by the daughter of the governor, a gentleman of Bourdelois. Conſtantius, named Cardillac D'aubigne, married his benefactreſs in 1627, and took her with him to Carolina. At the end of ſome years, they returned to France, and were both, by an order from court, confined at Niort in Poitou. It was in this priſon, in the year 1635, that Frances D'aubigne, deſtined to experience all the cruelties and all the favours of fortune, was born: ſhe was carried to America when an infant of three years old, left by the careleſſneſs of a ſervant on the ſhore, was near being devoured there by a ſer-

a ſerpent, was brought back an orphan at twelve years of age, and was educated with the greateſt ſeverity by madam de Neuillant, her relation, mother to the ducheſs de Nauailles. After all theſe hardſhips, ſhe was thought very happily diſpoſed of, when, in 1651, ſhe married Paul Scarron, who lodged near her. Scarron was of an ancient family in the parliament, made illuſtrious by great alliances; but the burleſque, which he made his profeſſion, leſſened his character, though it gained him friends. It was, however, conſidered as a great acquiſition for mademoiſelle D'aubigne to gain for a huſband, a man, who was diſfigured by nature, impotent, and very little inriched by fortune. Before her marriage ſhe abdured Calviniſm, which was her religion and that of her anceſtors. Her wit and beauty made her ſoon be diſtinguiſhed, and eagerly ſought after by the beſt company in Paris; and theſe days of her youth were doubtleſs the happieſt part of her life. After the death of her huſband, which happened in the year 1660, ſhe was a long time a ſolicitor to the king for a ſmall penſion of fifteen hundred livers, which Scarron had enjoyed. After ſome years, the king at laſt gave her two thouſand, ſaying at the ſame time, "Madam, I have made "you wait a long time; but you have ſo many "friends, that I was reſolved to have this merit "with you on my own account."

This fact was told me by cardinal de Fleury, who took a pleaſure in often repeating it, becauſe he ſaid Lewis XIV. had made him the ſame compliment when he gave him the biſhopric of Frejus.

In

In 1671, the birth of the duke of Maine, was not yet made public. This prince, who was now a year old, had a deformed foot; the firſt phyſician D'aquin, who was in the ſecret, thought it neceſſary that the child ſhould be ſent to the waters of Barege. A perſon of fidelity was ſought for, who would take the charge of ſuch a truſt; the king thought of madam Scarron; and Monſieur de Louvois went ſecretly to Paris to propoſe this journey to her. From that time ſhe had the care of the duke of Maine's education, and was named to this employment by the king, and not by madam de Monteſpan, as has been ſaid: ſhe wrote to the king immediately; her letters charmed him; and this was the origin of her fortune: her merit effected all the reſt. The king bought her the lands of Maintenon in 1679, which was the only eſtate ſhe ever had.

Her elevation was to her only a retreat: ſhut up in her apartment, which was upon the ſame floor with the king's, ſhe confined herſelf to the ſociety of two or three ladies as retired as herſelf, and even theſe ſhe ſaw but ſeldom. The king came to her apartment every day after dinner, before and after ſupper, and continued there till midnight. Here he did buſineſs with his miniſters, while madam de Maintenon employed herſelf at the ſame time in reading or needle work, never ſhewing any fondneſs for talking of ſtate affairs, often ſeeming wholly ignorant of them, and carefully avoiding whatever had the leaſt appearance of cabal and intrigue. She ſtudied more to pleaſe him who governed, than to govern; and preſerved her credit by never employing it but with the utmoſt circumſpection. She did not make uſe

of

of her power to give the greateſt dignities and employments among her own relations. Her brother the count D'aubigny, a lieutenant general of long ſtanding, was not even made a marſhal of France; a blue ribband and ſome appropriations in the farms of the revenue were all his fortune. He told the marſhal de Vivonne, the brother of madam de Monteſpan, that he had received the ſtaff of marſhal in ready money. It was rather a high fortune for the daughter of this count, to marry the duke de Noailles than an advantage to the duke. Two other nieces of madam de Maintenon, the one married to the marquis de Caylus, the other to the marquis de Villette, had ſcarce any thing. A ſmall penſion which Lewis XIV gave to madam de Caylus, was almoſt all her fortune: and madam de Villette had little elſe beſides expectations. This lady afterwards married the viſcount Bolingbroke, famous for his miniſtry, his eloquence, and his diſgrace. She has often told me, that ſhe reproached her aunt for doing ſo little for her family; and that ſhe had told her in her paſſion, "You take a pleaſure in your moderation, "and in ſeeing your family the victim of "it." Madem de Maintenon ſubmitted every thing to her fears of doing what might be contrary to the king's ſentiments; ſhe even dared not to ſupport the cardinal de Noailles againſt father le Tellier. She had a great friendſhip for Racine, but had not courage enough to protect him againſt a ſlight reſentment of the king's. One day, moved with the eloquence with which he had deſcribed to her the people's miſeries in 1698, miſeries which, tho'

tho' always exaggerated, were at that time carried to a deplorable extremity, ſhe deſired her friend to draw up a memorial, which might at once ſhew the evil and the remedy; the king read it, and expreſſing ſome diſpleaſure, ſhe had the weakneſs to tell him the author, and that of not defending him. Racine, ſtill weaker than her, felt an affliction for it, which cauſed his death.

The ſame natural diſpoſition, which made her incapable of conferring benefits, prevented her alſo from doing injuries. The abbe de Choiſi ſays that the miniſter Louvois threw himſelf at the feet of Lewis XIV, to hinder his marriage with Scarron's widow: if Choiſi knew this circumſtance, madam de Maintenon was not ignorant of it; yet ſhe not only pardoned this miniſter, but pacified the king, whom the rough temper of the marquis de Louvois often threw into ſudden fits of anger.

Lewis XIV in marrying madam de Maintenon, acquired an agreeable and ſubmiſſive companion. The only public diſtinction which made her ſenſible of her great elevation was, that at maſs ſhe ſat in one of the two little galleries or gilt domes, which appeared to be only deſigned for the king and queen: beſides this ſhe had not any exterior appearance of grandeur. That devotion with which ſhe had inſpired the king, and which ſhe made uſe of to effect her marriage, by degrees became a ſincere and ſettled diſpoſition of mind, which age and affliction confirmed. She had already, with the king and the whole court, given herſelf the merit of a foundreſs, by aſſembling a great number of young women of quality

at

at Noiſi; and the king had already deſtined the revenues of the abbey of St. Dennis for the maintenance of this riſing community. St. Cyr was built at the end of the park at Verſailles in 1686. She then gave a form to this eſtabliſhment, and together with Gadet Deſmarets, biſhop of Chartres, made the rules, and was herſelf ſuperior of the convent. Thither ſhe often went to paſs away ſome hours: and when I ſay that melancholy determined her to theſe employments, I only ſpeak her own words. We may read what ſhe wrote to madam de la Maiſonfort, in the chapter of Quietiſm:

"Why can I not give you my experience! "Why cannot I make you ſenſible of that uneaſineſs which wears out the great, and the "difficulty they labour under to employ their "time! Don't you ſee that I am dying with melancholy, in a height of fortune which once "my imagination could ſcarce have conceived? I "have been young and beautiful, have had a high "reliſh of pleaſure, and have been the univerſal "object of love. In a more advanced age, I "have paſt years in the interchange of intellectual pleaſures: I have at laſt riſen to favour: "but I proteſt to you, my dear girl, that every "one of theſe conditions leaves in the mind a "diſmal vacuity."

If any thing could ſhew the vanity of ambition, it would certainly be this letter. Madam de Maintenon, who could have no other uneaſineſs than the uniformity of her manner of living with a great king, ſaid once to the count D'aubigne her brother, "I can hold it no longer; I wiſh I was dead." The anſwer he made her is well known: *You have then a promiſe to marry the Almighty.*

When

When the king died, ſhe retired wholly to St. Cyr. What is ſurpriſing is, that Lewis XIV made no certain proviſion for her, and only recommended her to the duke of Orleans. She would accept of no more than an annual penſion of eighty thouſand livres, which was exactly paid her till her death, which happened the 15th of April 1719. In her epitaph, they too much affected to obliterate the name of Scarron. This name was no diſhonour; and the omitting it only ſerved to make it thought ſo.

The court, now leſs gay, and more ſerious after the king began to live a retired life with madam de Maintenon, and the conſiderable illneſs he had in 1686, contributed ſtill more to make him loſe that taſte for feaſts and gallantry, by which almoſt every year had been diſtinguiſhed. He was ſeiſed with a fiſtula in the lower part of his inteſtines. Tho' the art of ſurgery had made greater progreſs here under this reign than in all the reſt of Europe, this diſtemper was not yet well known. Cardinal Richelieu's death was occaſioned by his being unſkilfully treated in the ſame caſe. The king's danger alarmed all France: the churches were filled with innumerable crowds, who with tears in their eyes implored his cure from Heaven. This public and univerſal expreſſion of tenderneſs, reſembles that which happened in our days, when his ſucceſſor was in danger of death at Metz in 1744. Theſe two epochas will always teach kings what they owe to a nation that is capable of ſuch affection.

When Lewis XIV felt the firſt attacks of this diſeaſe, Felix, his chief ſurgeon, went thro' all the hoſpitals to ſeek for patients in the ſame diſtemper: he conſulted the beſt ſurgeons, and with their aſſiſtance

assistance invented instruments for shortening the operation, and making it less painful. The king endured it without complaining, and the same day made his ministers do business at his bed-side. And that the news of his danger might make no alteration in the courts of Europe, he gave audience the next day to the ambassadors. To this strength of mind was added, the magnanimity with which he rewarded Felix: he gave him an estate, which at that time was valued at more than fifty thousand crowns.

After this, the king went no more to public diversions. The dauphiness of Bavaria, who grew melancholy, and was seized with a languishing illness, of which she died in 1690, denied herself all manner of diversions, and continued obstinately in her apartment. She was fond of letters, and had even written some verses; but in her melancholy she loved nothing but solitude.

It was the convent of St. Cyr that revived the taste for works of genius. Madam de Maintenon intreated Racine, who had renounced the threatre for jansenism and the court, to compose a tragedy fit to be play'd by these novices, and to take the subject from the bible. Racine composed Esther. This piece having been first represented at the house of St. Cyr, was afterwards acted several times at Versailles before the king, in the winter of 1689. The prelates and jesuits eagerly desired to see this uncommon piece. It appears to me very remarkable, that it had then universal success; and that two years after Athaliah, tho' performed by the same persons, had none. It happened quite contrary when these pieces were play'd at Paris, long after the death of the author,

thor, and when prejudice and partiality had ceaſed: Athaliah, repreſented in 1717, was received as it deſerved, with tranſport; and Eſther, in 1721, inſpired nothing but coldneſs, and never appeared again. But at that time there were no courtiers who complaiſantly acknowledged Eſther in madam de Maintenon; and with equal malignity ſaw Vaſhti in madam de Monteſpan; Haman in monſieur de Louvois; and above all, the perſecution of the Hugonots by this miniſter, in the proſcription of the Hebrews. The impartial public ſaw nothing in it but an unintereſting and improbable ſtory: a ſtupid prince, who had lived ſix months with his wife without knowing what ſhe was; who, without the leaſt pretence for it, commanded a whole nation to be murdered; and, with as little reaſon, afterwards hanged his favourite. But notwithſtanding the badneſs of the ſubject, thirty verſes of Eſther are of more value than many tragedies which have had great ſucceſs. Theſe ingenious amuſements were revived for the education of Adelaide of Savoy, ducheſs of Burgundy, who was brought into France at eleven years of age.

'Tis one of the contradictions in our manners, that as on one ſide there are ſome remains of infamy ſtill annexed to all dramatic entertainments, ſo on the other, theſe repreſentations are conſidered as the nobleſt and beſt amuſements for perſons of royal blood. A little theatre was erected in madam de Maintenon's apartment; and the ducheſs of Burgundy, the duke of Orleans, and ſome other perſons about the court, who had the beſt talents for it, acted there. The famous actor Baron inſtructed them in their parts, and performed with them.

them. Moſt of the tragedies of Ducha, the king's valet de chambre, were compoſed for this theatre; and the abbot Genet, almoner to the ducheſs of Orleans, compoſed others for the ducheſs of Maine, which were performed by that princeſs and her court.

Theſe diverſions improved the mind, and enliven'd converſation. How then could the marquis de la Fare ſay in his memoirs, *That after the death of Madame, there was nothing but gaming, confuſion and impoliteneſs?* They gamed a good deal in the journeys to Marli and Fontainbleau, but never at madam de Maintenon's, and the court was at all times the model of the moſt perfect politeneſs: the ducheſs of Orleans, then ducheſs of Chartres, the ducheſs of Maine, the princeſs of Conti, and Madam the ducheſs, prove the contrary of what is advanced by the marquis de la Fare. This man, who was indulgent in the higheſt degree to thoſe with whom he converſed, has written ſcarce any thing but ſatire. He was diſſatisfied with the government, and paſs'd his life in a ſociety that made a merit of condemning the court: this ſociety turned a moſt amiable man into an unjuſt hiſtorian.

Neither he, nor any of thoſe who have cenſured Lewis XIV with ſo much freedom, can deny that he was, to the day on which the battle of Hochſtet was loſt, unrivall'd in power, in magnificence, and almoſt in every kind of greatneſs: for altho' there were heroes, ſuch as John Sobieſky, and the kings of Sweden, who eclips'd him as a warrior, none ever eclips'd him as a monarch. It muſt be likewiſe confeſs'd, that he ſupported his misfortunes, and repaired them. He had

had failings, he committed faults; but would thoſe who condemn him have equall'd him in the ſame ſituation?

The ducheſs of Burgundy increas'd daily both in merit and favour. The praiſes that were beſtow'd upon her ſiſter in Spain, inſpir'd her with an emulation, which redoubled her power of pleaſing. She was not indeed a perfect beauty, but ſhe had an aſpect like her ſon, a fine perſon, and a noble air. Theſe advantages were adorned by her wit, and ſtill more by her extreme deſire of meriting the good opinion of the whole world. Like Henrietta of England, ſhe was the idol and the model of the court, but with a higher rank, for ſhe ſtood next to the throne. France expected from the duke of Burgundy a government like that which the ſages of antiquity have conceiv'd, the auſterity of which would be ſoftened by the graces of this princeſs, which were better form'd to reach the heart than the philoſophy of her huſband. The world knows how all theſe hopes were deceiv'd. It was the fate of Lewis to ſee all his family periſh in France by untimely deaths: his wife at five and forty years of age, his only ſon at fifty; and in April 1712, a year after this loſs, he ſaw his grandſon the dauphin duke of Burgundy, the dauphineſs his wife, and their eldeſt ſon the duke of Bretagne, carried in the ſame funeral car to St. Dennis, while the laſt of their children, who has ſince aſcended the throne, was in his cradle at the point of death. The duke of Berry, brother to the duke of Burgundy, followed them two years after; and his daughter, at the ſame time, was carried from her cradle to the tomb.

Theſe

Theſe lamentable loſſes left ſo deep an impreſſion in the hearts of the people, that in the minority of Lewis XV, I have ſeen many perſons who could not ſpeak of them without tears. In the midſt of ſo many ſudden deaths, none ſeemed ſo much to deſerve compaſſion as his who was neareſt aſcending the throne.

The ſame ſuſpicions which the deaths of Madame, and of Maria Louiſa, queen of Spain, had occaſioned, now reviv'd with a fury that had no example. The exceſs of the public ſorrow might have been almoſt an excuſe for ſuch a calumny, if it could have been excus'd. It was madneſs to think, that any one had murdered ſo many of the royal family, and left that ſingle perſon alive who alone had power to revenge them. The ſickneſs which carried off the dauphin of Burgundy, his wife and ſon, was an epidemic purple fever. Above five hundred perſons died of this diſeaſe in leſs than a month at Paris. The duke of Bourbon, grandſon of the prince of Condé; the duke de la Trimouille; madam de la Vrilliere, and madam de Liſtenai, were ſeiz'd with it at court. The marquis de Gondrin, ſon of the duke D'antin, died of it in two days; and his wife, the counteſs de Toulouſe, was at the point of death. This diſtemper ran thro' all France, and in Lorrain deſtroy'd the elder brothers of that Francis duke of Lorrain, ordained one day to be emperor, and to reſtore the houſe of Auſtria.

Nevertheleſs, a phyſician named Bouden, a man of pleaſure, ignorant and bold, having uttered theſe words: "We underſtand nothing of ſuch "diſeaſes:" this was enough to ſet the calumny free from reſtraint.

The

The prince had a laboratory, and among other arts, ſtudied chemiſtry. This was conſidered as a proof not to be conteſted. The public outcry was ſo terrible, one muſt have been a witneſs of it to have believed it. Many writings, and ſome wretched hiſtories of Lewis XIV, would perpetuate theſe ſuſpicions, if thoſe who are truly informed did not take care to deſtroy them. I can venture to ſay, that as I have long been ſenſible of the injuſtice of mankind, I have taken great pains to know the truth. What follows has been often repeated to me by the marquis de Canilac, one of the honeſteſt men in the kingdom, and intimately acquainted with the ſuſpected prince, of whom he had afterwards much reaſon to complain. The marquis, in the midſt of this public clamour, went to ſee hm in his palace. He found him extended on the floor, ſhedding tears, and diſtracted with deſpair. His chemiſt Homberg ran to ſurrender himſelf priſoner at the Baſtile; but they refuſed to receive him, without orders. The prince himſelf, (could it be believed?) in the exceſs of his ſorrow, demanded to be put in priſon, that his innocence might be cleared by judicial forms. His mother alſo requeſted the ſame cruel juſtification. The letter de cachet was made out, but not ſigned: and the marqueſs de Canilac alone, amidſt theſe violent emotions, preſerved moderation enough to be ſenſible of the conſequences of ſuch a deſperate ſtep. He prevailed upon the prince's mother to oppoſe this ignominious letter de cachet. The monarch who granted it, and his nephew who demanded it, were both equally wretched.

Lewis in public ſuppreſs'd his grief. He endeavoured to appear as uſual: but in ſecret, the reflection of ſo many miſeries pierced him to the heart, and threw him into convulſions. He was afflicted with all theſe domeſtic loſſes at the end of an unſucceſsful war, before he was ſure of peace, and at a time when famine deſolated the kingdom; but he was never ſeen to ſink a moment under his afflictions.

The reſt of his life was very melancholy. The diſorder of the finances, which it was not in his power to remedy, alienated people's hearts; and the entire confidence he repoſed in father le Tellier, a man too violent, compleated the diſguſt. One thing was very remarkable; the public, which pardoned him all his miſtreſſes, could not forgive him his confeſſor. He loſt in the three laſt years of his life, in the opinion of moſt of his ſubjects, all that he had done great or memorable.

Deprived of almoſt all his children, his fondneſs for the duke of Maine and the count de Toulouſe, his natural ſons, redoubled, and induced him, in 1715, to give them the rights, honour, rank and name of princes of the blood, by an edict which was regiſtered without any remonſtrance. By this edict he confirmed the crown to their families, on failure of all the princes of the blood of France, thus moderating by the natural law, the ſeverity of poſitive laws, which deprive children born out of marriage of all right to paternal ſucceſſion. Kings diſpenſe with that law. He imagined that he might do for his own blood what he had done for ſeveral of his ſubjects; at leaſt, that he might carry in favour of

two of his children what had paſſed the parliament without oppoſition for the princes of the houſe of Lorrain. However, murmurs were raiſed. The ſuit that was commenced by the princes of the blood againſt the legitimated princes, is well known. They have however preſerved to themſelves and their children the honours given them by Lewis. The fate of their poſterity muſt depend upon time, upon merit, and upon fortune.

Lewis XIV, at his return from Marli about the middle of Auguſt 1715, was ſeized with that illneſs which ended his days. His legs ſwelled, and a mortification began to ſhew itſelf. The earl of Stair, ambaſſador from England, laid a wager, according to the Cuſtom of his country, that the king would not live out the month of September. The duke of Orleans, who in his journey to Marli had been abſolutely alone, was now ſurrounded by all the court. An empyric, in the laſt days of the king's illneſs, gave him an elixir which reſtored his ſtrength: he eat, and the quack affirmed he would recover him. The croud which had encircled the duke of Orleans inſtantly diſappeared. "If the king eats a ſecond "time, ſaid the duke of Orleans, we ſhall "have no-body with us." The diſeaſe, however, was mortal. Meaſures were taken to give the regency, with abſolute authority, to the duke of Orleans. The king by his laſt will, depoſited in parliament, had left it him under great limitations, or rather placed him only at the head of the council of regency, in which he was only to have the caſting voice. Yet he told him, *I have ſecured to you all the rights*

given you by your birth. He did not think that there was a fundamental law, which gave the presumptive heir to the crown an unlimited power during a minority. This ſupreme authority, which may be abuſed, is dangerous: but divided power is yet more ſo. He imagined, that having been ſo well obeyed in his life, he ſhould be equally abſolute after his death, and forgot that the will of his father had been diſregarded.

It is generally known with what greatneſs of ſoul he beheld the approach of death. *I thought,* ſaid he to Madam de Maintenon, *it more difficult to die.* To his domeſtics he ſaid, *Why do you weep? did you believe me immortal?* He gave orders with great tranquillity concerning many things, even for his funeral ſolemnity. Whoever has many witneſſes of his death always dies with courage.

Lewis XIII in his laſt illneſs, had ſet the *de profundis* to muſic, which was to be ſung at his funeral. The greatneſs of ſoul with which Lewis XIV approached his laſt moments, was diveſted of that oſtentation diffuſed over his whole life; and he carried this ſo far as even to confeſs his faults. His ſucceſſor has always preſerved in writing, at the head of his bed, the remarkable words this monarch ſaid to him, holding him between his arms as he lay in his bed. They are not ſuch as have been related in all the hiſtories. The following is a faithful copy of them: "You are ſoon going to "be king over a great kingdom: what I moſt ear- "neſtly recommend to you is, never to forget "the obligations you have to God: remember that "it is to him you owe every thing. Endea- "vour to preſerve peace with your neighbours:

I have

" I have been too fond of war: imitate me not " in that, no more than in my too great expen- " ces. Take advice in all things; and endeavour " to diſtinguiſh the beſt, that you may always fol- " low it. Relieve your people as much as you " can, and do what I have had the misfortune not " to be able to do myſelf."

'Tis probable that theſe words did not a little contribute towards that peace which, thirty years after, Lewis XV gave to all his enemies. We then ſaw a victorious king reſtore all he had conquered, to keep his word, re-gain all his allies, and become the arbitrator of Europe, more by his diſintereſtedneſs than his victories.

Altho' both the life and death of Lewis XIV were glorious, he was not regretted ſo much as he deſerved. The love of novelty; the approach of a minority, wherein every one promiſed himſelf a fortune; the affair of the conſtitution, which exaſperated peoples minds all contributed to make the news of his death be received with ſentiments which went farther than indifference. The ſame people who in 1686 beg'd of Heaven with tears the king's recovery, followed his funeral pomp with very different expreſſions. 'Tis pretended, that the queen his mother ſaid to him one day when he was very young, " My ſon, en- " deavour to be like your grandfather, and not " like your father." The king having aſked her the reaſon, " It is, ſaid ſhe, becauſe that at the " death of Henry IV. the people wept and laugh- " ed at that of Lewis XIII." However this might be, time, which matures the opinions of men, has ſtamped its ſale upon his reputation; and notwithſtanding all that has been writ againſt him,

his name will never be pronounced without reſpect, nor without reviving the idea of an age forever memorable.

If we conſider him in his private life, we ſee him a good ſon, without being governed by his mother; a good huſband, even without being faithful; a good father, a good maſter, and always amiable with dignity.

I have already obſerved in another * place, that he never ſpoke thoſe words which have been imputed to him, when the firſt gentleman of his chamber and the grand maſter of his wardrobe diſputed with each other for the honour of ſerving him; *What does it ſignify which of my valets ſerve me?* Such coarſe language could never proceed from a perſon ſo polite and ſo attentive to his behaviour; and does not agree with what he ſaid to him one day concerning his debts; *Why don't you ſpeak to your friends.* This was an expreſſion of a very different kind, and was of itſelf of great value; but was accompanied with a preſent of fifty thouſand crowns: Is it not even true that he wrote to the duke de Rochefoucault, "I make you my compliments as your "friend, upon the employment of great maſter "of the wardrobe, which I give you as your king." Hiſtorians have praiſed him for this letter, not perceiving how indelicate, and even how harſh it is for a maſter to call himſelf a maſter. This might have been proper in a letter to a rebellious ſubject, and might have been ſaid by Henry IV

* All this is taken from anecdotes printed among the miſcellanies of the ſame author, and founded upon this hiſtory.

to

to the duke of Maienne, before they were wholly reconciled. Roſe, the ſecretary of the privy council, wrote this letter, and the king had too juſt a taſte to ſuffer it to be ſent. It was this juſtneſs of taſte that made him ſuppreſs the vainglorious inſcriptions which Charpentier, of the French academy, had put on the pictures of le Brun in the gallery at Verſailles; ſuch as the *incredible paſſage of the Rhine, the wonderful conqueſt of Valenciennes.* The king was ſenſible, that to ſay only, *the taking of Valenciennes, the paſſage of the Rhine,* expreſs'd enough. Charpentier was in the right to adorn the monuments of our own country with inſcriptions in our own language. The only fault was flattery in the execution.

Some anſwers and ſayings of this prince have been collected, which amount to little. It was ſaid, that when he had reſolved to aboliſh Calviniſm in France, he ſaid, "My grandfather loved "the Hugonets, and did not fear them; my "father feared them, but did not love them; as "for me, I neither love them nor fear them." He always expreſs'd himſelf nobly, and with great exactneſs, ſtudying to ſpeak as well as to act in public like a ſovereign. When the duke of Anjou went to reign in Spain, the king to expreſs the union which was from that time to join the two nations, ſaid to him; "Remem-"ber there are now no Pyreneans."

Lewis XIV had more dignity and exactneſs than ſprightlineſs in his genius. A king ſhould, indeed, rather do than ſay memorable things. Whoever is in an exalted ſtation, ſhould ſuffer no perſon to leave their preſence diſcontented, and ſhould make themſelves agreeable to all thoſe

who approach them. 'Tis not poſſible to conſe favours every moment; but 'tis always eaſy t ſay things which pleaſe: this Lewis XIV ha happily made habitual to him. Between him an his court there was a conſtant interchange of a the graciouſneſs which majeſty could ſhew, without being degraded; and all the arts which eagerneſs to ſerve, and ſolicitude to pleaſe, could produce, without abaſement. With the women particularly he had a delicacy and politeneſs, which ſtill more increaſed that of his courtiers; and with the men he never loſt an opportunity of ſaying thoſe things which flatter ſelf-love, excite emulation, and which make a deep impreſſion.

The ducheſs of Burgundy, when ſhe was very young, ſeeing an officer at ſupper who was extremely ugly, was very loud in her ridicule of his perſon. "Madam," ſaid the king to her, ſtill louder, "I think him one of the hand-"ſomeſt men in my kingdom; for he is one "of the braveſt."

The count de Marivaux, a lieutenant-general, one whoſe manners were a little brutal, and who had not corrected them even in the court of Lewis XIV had loſt an arm in an action, and complained to the king, who had however recompenſed him as much as the loſs of an arm can be recompenſed: I wiſh, ſaid he, that I had loſt the other, that I might ſerve your majeſty no more. "I ſhould then be ſorry, ſaid Lewis, both for "you and for myſelf." Theſe words were followed by the grant of a favour.

He was ſo far from ſaying diſagreeable things, which are mortal wounds from the mouth of a prince,

prince, that he did not allow himſelf even the gentleſt and moſt harmleſs raillery; while private perſons every day practiſe the moſt miſchievous and cruel. He had ſkill and took a pleaſure in little pieces of wit, in extemporary ſallies and ſongs; and ſometimes occaſionally made little parodies upon the ſongs in faſhion; ſuch as this:

Chez mon cadet de frére,
Le chancelier ſerrant
N'eſt pas trop nêceſſaire;
Et le ſage boifraud
Eſt celui qui ſait plaire.

And this, which he made one day as he left his council:

Le conſeil a ſes yeux a beau ſe preſenter;
Sitot qu'il voit ſa chienne, il quitte tont pour elle:
Rien ne peut l'arreter,
Quand la chaſſe l'appelle.

Theſe trifles ſerve at leaſt to ſhow, that intellectual amuſements made one of the pleaſures of his court, that he entered into theſe pleaſures himſelf, and that he knew how to act the man in his private character, as well as the monarch, upon the theatre of the world.

His letter to the arch-biſhop of Rheims, concerning the marquis de Barbeſieux, altho' writ in a ſtile extremely negligent, does more honour to his character, than the moſt ingenious thoughts would have done to his wit. He had given this young man, who was ſon to the marquis de Louvois, the poſt of ſecretary of war. Being ſoon diſguſted at the behaviour of his new ſecretary, he

he was desirous to correct him without mortifying him too much. With this view, he addressed himself to his uncle the arch-bishop of Rheims: he intreated him to advise his nephew; and shewed himself a master informed of every thing, with the tenderness of a father. "I know "said he, what I owe to the memory of Louvois, "but if your nephew does not alter his conduct, "I shall be forced to do what I shall be sorry for; "but it will be necessary. He has talents, but "he does not make a good use of them; he en- "tertains the princes too often at supper, instead "of doing business; he neglects the public affairs "for his pleasures, makes the officers wait too "long in his anti-chamber, and speaks to them "haughtily, and some times harshly." This is all that my memory furnishes me with of this letter, the original of which I have formerly seen: it proves plainly, that Lewis was not governed by his ministers, as has been believed, but that he knew how to govern them.

He loved praises, and it is to be wished that a prince may love them, because he will then endeavour to deserve them: But Lewis XIV would not always approve them, when they were too gross. When our academy, which always gave him an account of the subjects they proposed for their prizes, shewed him this: *Which of all the virtues of a king merits the preference?* the king blushed, and would not suffer such a subject to be treated. He permitted the prologues of Quinaut, but this was when his glory was greatest, at a time when his vanity might be excused by that of the nation. Virgil, and Horace, thro' gratitude; and Ovid, thro' a despicable meanness

neſs, laviſhed on Auguſtus, praiſes ſtill more groſs, and if we think on the proſcriptions, more undeſerved.

The duke D' Antin diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this age by a very ſingular art, which conſiſted in not ſaying agreeable things, but in doing them. The king went to lye at Petit-bourg, and found fault with a large walk of Trees, which concealed the river from view; the duke D'Antin cauſed them all to be cut down in the night. The king, on his awaking was ſurpriſed that he no longer ſaw the trees he had diſliked: "Tis becauſe your "majeſty has condemned them, that they are "ſeen no more," replied the duke.

We have related in another place, that the ſame duke obſerving a large wood at the end of the canal at Fontainbleau, was not agreeable to the king, he in the minute when the king went out to take a walk, having every thing prepared before, ordered the wood to be cut down, and inſtantly all the trees fell together. This behaviour ſhewed the ingenious courtier, rather than the flatterer.

Lewis XIV has been accuſed of an inſupportable pride, becauſe the baſis of his ſtatues in the ſquares des Victories, and that of Vendome, are ſurrounded with ſlaves in chains: but it was not him who cauſed thoſe ſtatues to be erected. That of the ſquare des Victories, is a monument of the greatneſs of ſoul, and the gratitude of the firſt marſhal de la Feuillade to his maſter. He expended in it five hundred thouſand livres, which makes near a million at preſent, and the city doubled this ſum to make the ſquare regular. I have been always diſguſted at the in-

juſtice

juſtice done to Lewis XIV in imputing to him the pride of this ſtatue, and at the negligence ſhewn in not doing juſtice to the generoſity of the marſhal.

They were only conſidered as four ſlaves, but they expreſſed the vices he ſubdued, rather than the nations he conquered: duelling aboliſhed by him, and hereſy deſtroyed: and the inſcriptions ſufficiently prove this. They alſo celebrate the union of the ſeas and the peace of Nimeguen, and ſpeak of nothing but benevolent actions; nor has one of theſe ſlaves any thing that characterifes the people conquered by Lewis XIV: beſides, 'tis an antient cuſtom in ſculptures, to put ſlaves at the feet of the ſtatues of kings. It would be better indeed, if they repreſented free and happy citizens there; but ſlaves may be ſeen at the feet of the good Henry IV. and Lewis XIII at Paris; they are alſo to be ſeen at Livourne, under the feet of Ferdinand de Medicis, who certainly never enſlaved any nation, and at Berlin, under the ſtatue of an elector who repulſed the Swedes, but never gained any conqueſts.

The neighbours of the French, as well as themſelves, have with great injuſtice made Lewis XIV anſwerable for this cuſtom; the inſcription, *viro immortali*, *to the immortal man*, has been accuſed of idolatry, as if it ſignified any thing but the immortality of his glory. The inſcription of Viviani on his houſe at Florence, *ædes à deo datæ*, *a houſe given by a god*, may be conſidered as more idolatrous: but it is only an alluſion to the ſurname of Deodatus, and to the verſe of Virgil,

Deus

Deus nobis hæc otia fecit.

With reſpect to the ſtatue in the ſquare of Vendome, it was the city which erected it. The king had deſtined the buildings of this ſquare for his public library. The ſquare was very large, and had at firſt three fronts; which were thoſe of an immenſe palace, the walls of which were already built, when the public misfortunes in 1701, obliged the city to build houſes for private perſons, upon the ruins of this unfiniſhed palace: for the ſame reaſon the Louvre was never finiſhed: and the fountain and obeliſk, which Colbert intended to raiſe over-againſt the gate of Pearrault, have never appeared but in a drawing. This was the cauſe why the gate of St. Gervais remained unfiniſhed, and that moſt of the monuments of Paris cannot be regarded but with regret.

The nation was deſirous that Lewis XIV ſhould prefer his Louvre and his capital to Verſailles, which the duke de Crequi called a favourite without merit. Poſterity admires with gratitude the great things he has done for the public: but we cenſure as well as admire, when we ſee the grandeur and the defects of his palace in the country.

From what we have related, it appears, that Lewis XIV in every thing loved grandeur and glory. A prince who ſhould do as great things as Lewis XIV and ſhould ſtill continue modeſt, would be the firſt of kings, and Lewis XIV the ſecond.

If on his death-bed he repented of having for slight reasons engaged in war, it must be confess'd that he did not judge by the events of them: for of all his wars, the most just and indispensable was that of 1710, and that alone was unsuccessful.

By his marriage, besides the dauphin, he had two sons and three daughters, who all died in their infancy. His amours were more happy: only two of his natural children died in the cradle; eight others lived, were legitimated, and five had posterity. Besides these, he had a daughter, whom he did not acknowledge, by a young woman belonging to madam de Montespan. This daughter he married to De la Queve, a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Versailles. A nun of the convent of Moret was with great probability suspected to be his daughter: she was extremely brown, and in other respects resembled him. The king, when he placed her in this convent, gave her twenty thousand crowns. The notion she had of her birth, inspired her with a haughtiness, of which her superiors complained. Madam de Maintenon, in a journey to Fountainbleau, called at the convent of Moret, and being desirous to make this nun more modest, she did what she could to make her abandon the opinion which caused her pride. "Madam, said the nun to "her, the trouble a lady of your high rank has "taken to come hither on purpose to tell me "I am not the king's daughter, convinces me "that I am." The convent of Moret still remember this anecdote.

So

So many particularities may perhaps diſguſt a philoſophical reader; but curioſity, that weakneſs ſo common to mankind, deſerves a higher name when it is employed upon times and perſons, which poſterity regards with reſpect and admiration.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVII.

The Interior GOVERNMENT, COMMERCE, LAWS, Civil GOVERNMENT, Military DISCIPLINE, MARINE, &c.

WE ought, in juſtice to thoſe who have done ſervice to the age in which they lived, to conſider the ſtate of things at the time when they obtained the direction of affairs, that we may be able to form a true judgment of the improvements which they have made in their country; and poſterity is for ever obliged to them for the example which they have given, even tho' it ſhould ſurpaſs them. The glory which they juſtly receive from hence is their only recompence. It is certain, that a love of this glory animated Lewis XIV, and at the time when he began to govern alone, made him deſirous to reform his kingdom, adorn his court, and bring the arts to a degree of perfection.

He not only impoſed it upon himſelf as a duty to do buſineſs regularly with each of his miniſters, but every perſon of character might obtain audience of him; and all his ſubjects had the liberty to preſent to him both their petitions and projects. The petitions were received by a maſter of requeſts, who took an account of them, and then they were ſent to the miniſters. Projects, when they were ſuch as deſerved conſideration, were examined in council, and their authors were frequently admitted to diſcuſs their ſchemes with the miniſters

miniſters in the king's preſence. And thus, notwithſtanding the deſpotic power of the prince, a correſpondence ſubſiſted between the throne and the people.

Lewis XIV formed and accuſtomed himſelf to labour; and this labour was ſo much the more painful, as it was new to him, and becauſe he might eaſily have been ſeduced by the allurements of pleaſure. He wrote the firſt diſpatches to his ambaſſadors himſelf: he frequently wrote down the ſubſtance of the moſt important letters with his own hand; and none were ever written in his name without being read to him.

Colbert, after the fate of Fouquet, had ſcarce reſtored order in the finances, when the king diſcharged his people from all thoſe taxes which they owed to him from the year 1647 to 1656; particularly three millions of the tailles. The ſubject was alſo relieved from many burdenſome taxes, in lieu of only the ſum of five hundred thouſand crowns paid annually: and it appears from hence, that the abbé de Choiſi was either miſinformed, or very unjuſt in his aſſertion, that the taxes were not diminiſhed: for it is certain that they were diminiſhed by this remiſſion of dues, and this abatement; tho' by the good order which was now introduced, the product of them was augmented.

The eſtabliſhment of the general hoſpital was owing to the care of the firſt Preſident, de Bellievre, aided by the liberality of the ducheſs d'Aiguillon, and ſeveral citizens: and this eſtabliſhment was augmented by the king; who alſo cauſed others of the ſame kind to be erected in all the principal cities in the kingdom.

The great roads, which till then had been almoſt impaſſable,

impaſſable, were no longer ſuffered to remain unmended; and by degrees, they became what they now are under Lewis XV, the admiration of all foreigners. Go out of Paris which way you will now, you may travel near forty leagues in hard, ſmooth alleys, bordered with trees: and tho' the antient Roman ways might have been more durable, they were not more ſpacious or more beautiful.

Colbert applied his genius more particularly to commerce, which was but weakly cultivated, and the firſt principles of which were unknown. The Engliſh, but more eſpecially the Dutch, carried on almoſt the whole commerce of France in their ſhips; the Dutch in particular loaded their veſſels with our commodities, and diſtributed them throughout Europe. But the king, in 1662, began to exempt his ſubjects from an impoſt, called the right of freight paid by all foreign veſſels; and he enabled them to tranſport their merchandizes themſelves at a leſs expence, which made our maritime commerce ſoon begin to increaſe. The council of commerce, which ſtill ſubſiſts, was then eſtabliſhed; and the king preſided in it every fifteen days.

Dunkirk and Marſeilles were declared free ports; and this privilege ſoon drew the commerce of the Levant to Marſeilles, and that of the North to Dunkirk.

A Weſt-India company was formed in 1664; and alſo one for the Eaſt-Indies the ſame year. Till then, the luxury of France had been tributary to the induſtry of Holland. The timid, ignorant, and narrow-thoughted partizans of the old œconomy, in vain declaimed againſt a commerce, wherein money, which is permanent, was continually exchanged for goods, which are periſhable. They

They did not conſider, that theſe India commodities being become neceſſary, would have been purchaſed of foreigners at a higher price. It is true, that more money is carried to the Eaſt-Indies than is brought from thence, and that Europe is impoveriſh'd by this commerce: but then this money comes from Peru and Mexico; it is the price of our commodities, which are tranſported from Cadiz thither; and more of this money remains in France, than is abſorbed by the Eaſt-Indies.

The king gave more than ſix millions of our preſent money to this company, and excited perſons of fortune to engage in it. The queens, the princes, and the whole court furniſhed two millions of the money of account of that time. The ſuperior courts furniſhed twelve hundred thouſand livres, the financers two millions, the body of merchants, ſix hundred and fifty thouſand livers: in fine, the whole nation imitated the example of their king.

This company has conſtantly ſubſiſted, ever ſince that time; for though the Dutch took Pondicherry in 1694, after which the commerce of the Eaſt Indies declined; yet in our days, this commerce has revived with greater vigour. Pondicherry is become the rival of Batavia; and this India company, which was with great difficulty founded by the indefatigable labour of the great Colbert, being revived in our time, through ſome very extraordinary revolutions, is now become one of the greateſt reſources of the kingdom. The king alſo formed a northern company in 1669, and eſtabliſhed funds for its ſupport, in the ſame manner as for the Indies. It evidently appeared then, that commerce was not diſhonourable:

ourable: for the monarch himſelf, and the greateſt of his nobles, in imitation of his example, intereſted themſelves in it.

The Weſt India company was not leſs encouraged than the others: and of all the funds the king furniſhed the tenth.

He granted a bounty of thirty franks per ton upon exportation, and forty upon importation; and whoever built ſhips, in any of the ports of the kingdom, receiv'd five livres for every ton which their veſſels were capable to carry.

We cannot enough admire, that the abbé de Choiſi ſhould condemn theſe eſtabliſhments in his memoirs, which ſhould be read with diffidence. We are now perfectly ſenſible of what the miniſter Colbert did for the good of the kingdom: but then we knew it not. He laboured for the ungrateful; and ſuch an animoſity was raiſed againſt him in Paris, for the ſuppreſſion of ſome rents upon the Hotel de Ville, which had been meanly exacted ſince the year 1636, and for the diſcredit into which the exchequer orders fell, from their having been laviſhed under the preceding miniſtry, as all the good which he did to the public in general could not counterballance. There were more cits than good citizens; few perſons extended their views ſo far as the public good. No one is ignorant, how much private intereſt faſcinates the eyes, miſleads the underſtanding, and obſtructs the intereſts, not only of a ſimple merchant, but of a company, and even a whole city. The coarſe reply made by a merchant named Hazon (who being conſulted by this miniſter, ſaid: *You found the machine overturned on one ſide, and you have overturned it on the other,*) was cited with

with applauſe when I was young; and this anecdote may be ſtill found in Moreri. That philoſophical ſpirit which was at laſt introduced into France, corrected the vulgar prejudices, and perfect juſtice was at laſt done to the memory of this great man. He had the ſame regularity as the duke de Sully, and his views were much more extenſive. The former was ſkilled only in the arts of œconomy; the latter was the founder of very great and uſeful eſtabliſhments.

There was almoſt an univerſal reparation, or even a creation in his time. The reduction of intereſt in 1665, demonſtrated the largeneſs of our circulation. Lewis XIV. was deſirous to render his kingdom richer and more populous: to effect this, marriages in the provinces were encouraged, by exempting all thoſe who ſhould marry at the age of twenty, from paying any taxes for the ſpace of five years: and every father of a family, having ten children, was exempted for his whole life, becauſe he contributed more to the ſtate, by his children's labour, than he could have done by paying the tax. This rule ought to have been for ever obſerved without alteration.

From the year 1663, to 1672, every year of his miniſtry was diſtinguiſhed by the eſtabliſhment of ſome manufactory. Fine cloths, which before had been purchas'd of the Engliſh and Dutch, were made at Abbeville. The king advanced two thouſand livres to the manufacturer, for every loom which he employ'd, beſides other conſiderable gratifications. In the year 1669, forty four thouſand and two hundred looms were computed in the kingdom. The manufacturers of ſilk being brought to great perfection, produced

duced a commerce of more than fifty millions of that time; and the profit arising from it, was not only greatly superior to the purchase of the necessary silk; but by the culture of silk-worms, the manufacturers were enabled to do without foreign silk, for the chain of their stuffs.

In the year 1666, as fine glasses began to be made as those of Venice, which till then had constantly furnished all Europe; and they were soon after made of a size and beauty superior to any made elsewhere. The carpets of Turkey and Persia were surpassed in the Savonnerie; and the tapistries of Flanders were exceeded by those manufactured at the Gobelins. This vast inclosure called the Gobelins, was at that time filled with upwards of eight hundred workmen, of which three hundred were lodged in the place. The works were directed by the best painters, either after their own designs, or those of the old Italian masters; and besides the tapestries, many curious kinds of Mosaic works were made, and the art of inlaying was brought to perfection.

Another manufacture besides this of the Gobelins, was also established at Beauvais; the manager of which had the direction of six hundred workmen, and he received a present from the king of sixty thousand livres.

Sixteen hundred women and girls were employed in making laces: thirty of the most skilful of whom, were brought from Venice and two hundred out of Flanders; and they were encouraged by a present of thirty six thousand livres.

The manufacture at Sedan for cloth, and that of tapestries at d'Aubusson, which were in a declining state, were restored.

The

The miniſtry purchaſed in England the ſecret of that ingenious machine, by means of which ſtockings are made, ten times quicker than by the knitting needles. Wrought iron, ſteel, fine earthen-wares, Morocco leather, which had always been brought from abroad, were made at home. But certain Calviniſts, who were poſſeſſed of the ſecret of wrought iron and ſteel, carried it out of the kingdom with them in 1686, and communicated it to other nations.

The king every year purchaſed ſome of all the fineſt of theſe manufactures, to the amount of about four hundred thouſand livres; of which he made preſents.

The city of Paris was then greatly inferior to what it is now; it was neither well lighted, guarded, nor cleaned: neceſſary funds were wanted for the continual cleaning of the ſtreets, for the illumination formed every night by five thouſand lamps, for paving the whole, for building two new gates, repairing the others, and for eſtabliſhing a continual watch both of horſe and foot for the ſecurity of the city. The king took the care of all this, and eſtabliſhed funds to defray the neceſſary expences. In 1667 he created the magiſtrate, whoſe ſole duty was to preſide over the civil government of the city. Moſt of the great cities of Europe have ſcarce imitated theſe examples till long after, and none have equall'd them. There is not a city in Europe pav'd ſo well as Paris, and Rome itſelf is not lighted at all.

All things advanced to ſuch perfection, that the ſecond of the lieutenants of the police of Paris, acquired in that poſt a reputation, which placed him in the rank of thoſe who have done honour

to

to this age: he was indeed a man whoſe genius was capable of every thing. He was afterwards in the miniſtry, and would have made a good commander in the army. The place of lieutenant of the police was beneath his birth and merit: nevertheleſs, he gained greater reputation in it, than in the ſhort and confined miniſtry which he obtained towards the end of his life.

It may be proper here to obſerve, that m oſieur D'Argenſon was by no means the only perſon of the antient nobility, who acted as a magiſtrate. France is almoſt the only kingdom in Europe, in which the antient Nobility have frequently appeared in the long robe: almoſt all the other nations, through a remainder of Gothic barbarity, ſeem ſtill to be ignorant of the dignity of this profeſſion.

The king, from the year 1661, conſtantly carried on his buildings at the Louvre, St. Germains, and Verſailles; and private perſons, in imitation of his example; rais'd a thouſand beautiful and commodious edifices in Paris; the number of which was ſo prodigiouſly increaſed, that adjacent to the palace royal, and St. Solpicius, two new cities were formed in Paris greatly ſuperior to the old. Magnificent coaches, adorned with fine glaſſes, and ſuſpended in the moſt eaſy manner, were then invented; ſo that a citizen of Paris might go about this great city with more pomp and luxury, than was diſplay'd by the firſt Romans when they went in triumph to the capitol. The cuſtom which was firſt begun in Paris, was ſoon introduced into all the nations of Europe, and becoming common, was no longer conſidered as luxury.

Lewis

Lewis XIV. had a taſte for architecture, gardening, and ſculpture: and his taſte in all theſe was great and noble. In 1664, when the comptroller general Colbert obtained the directon of the buildings, which is properly the direction of the arts, he applied himſelf to ſecond his maſter's deſigns. The firſt work neceſſary to be done, was to finiſh the Louvre. Francis Manſard, one of the greateſt architects France ever had, was choſen to conſtruct the vaſt edifices which were projected; but he refuſed the employ, unleſs he might have liberty to do over again what ſhould appear to him defective in the execution. This diffidence of himſelf, which might have occaſioned great expences, cauſed him to be excluded; and the chevalier Bernini was ſent for from Rome: his name was celebrated for the colonnade which ſurrounds the church of St. Peter; for the equeſtrian ſtatue of Conſtantine, and for the Navonne fountain. He was furniſhed with equipages for his journey, and was conducted to Paris as a perſon who came to do honour to the kingdom. Beſides five louisd'ors a day, which were paid him during the eight months he ſtay'd in France, he received a preſent of fifty thouſand crowns, a penſion of two thouſand crowns, and one of five hundred for his ſon. This generoſity of Lewis XIV. to Bernini, was greater even than that of Francis I. to Raphael. Bernini, through a principle of gratitude, afterwards made an equeſtrian ſtatue of the king at Rome, which is ſtill to be ſeen at Verſailles. Upon his arrival at Paris with ſo much ceremony, as the only perſon worthy to be employed by Lewis XIV; he was greatly ſurprized to ſee the deſign of the front of

the Louvre, on the ſide of St. Germain L'auxerrois, which became ſoon after, in the execution, one of the moſt auguſt monuments of architecture in the world. The deſign had been made by Claudius Perrault, and was executed by Lewis le Vau and D'orbay. He alſo invented the machines by which to convey thoſe ſtones of fifty two feet in length, of which this majeſtic edifice is formed. We ſometimes go a great way in ſearch of what we have at home. There is not one of the palaces at Rome, whoſe entrance is comparable to this of the Louvre; for which we are obliged to this Perrault, whom Boileau attempted to turn into ridicule. Thoſe which are ſo celebrated, are not, by the general voice of travellers, ſuperior to the caſtle of Maiſons, which Francis Manſard built at ſo ſmall an expence. Bernini was magnificently rewarded, tho' he did not deſerve it; for he only gave deſigns which were never executed.

The king, at the ſame time when he carried on the works at the Louvre, the completion of which was ſo ardently deſired, when he was building a city at Verſailles, which has coſt ſo many millions, when he was building Trianon, Marli, and embelliſhing ſo many other edifices, alſo completed the Obſervatory, which had been commenced in 1666, at the time when he eſtabliſhed the academy of ſciences. But the monument which for its uſefulneſs, greatneſs, and difficulty, is the moſt glorious, was the canal of Languedoc, which joins the two ſeas, and falls into the port of Cette, conſtructed purpoſely to receive its waters. All theſe works were commenced in 1664, and they were continued without interruption to 1681. The foundation of

he Invalids, and the chapel of that building, which is the moſt beautiful in all Paris; and the eſtabliſhment of St. Cyr, which is the laſt of the numerous works erected by this monarch, are lone ſufficient to render his name revered. Four houſand ſoldiers and a great number of officers, who in one of theſe great aſylums find comfort n their old age, and relief for their wounds and heir wants; two hundred and fifty female chil-lren of noble parents, who in the other receive n education ſuitable to their birth, are ſo many oices which celebrate the name of Lewis XIV. The eſtabliſhment of St. Cyr will be ſurpaſſed y that which Lewis XV. is forming for the ducation of five hundred gentlemen; but this, nſtead of obliterating the memory of St. Cyr, evives it. It is the art of doing good which is rought to perfection.

Lewis XIV. was at the ſame time deſirous to o things of greater and more general uſe; but he execution of which was more difficult. He iſhed to reform the laws, and directed the hancellor Seguier, Lamoignon, Talon, Bignon, nd more particularly the counſellor of ſtate ouſort, to uſe their endeavours for this purpoſe. le preſided ſometimes in their aſſemblies, and he year 1667, was at once the epocha of his rſt laws and his firſt conqueſts. The civil or-inance appeared firſt, then the laws of the wa-rs and foreſts, then the ſtatutes for all manu-ctures, the criminal ordinance, the commer-ial code, that for the marine: all theſe ſucceed-d one another annually. There was even a ew juriſprudence eſtabliſhed in favour of the Negroes of our colonies; a ſort of men, who ad not before enjoyed the rights of humanity.

A profound knowledge in the laws is not to be acquired by a ſovereign. But the king being inſtructed in the principal, he poſſeſſed the ſpirit of them, and knew when to execute or reſtrain them properly. He frequently judged the cauſes of his ſubjects, not only in the council of the ſecretaries of ſtate, but in that which is called the council of parties. We have two celebrated judgments of his, wherein he decided againſt himſelf.

The firſt was a cauſe in 1680, between him and certain inhabitants of Paris, who had built upon his ground. He gave ſentence in their favour, by adjudging the houſes to remain in their poſſeſſion, together with his ground, which he gave to them.

The other was concerning a Perſian named Roupli, whoſe merchandizes had been ſeiz'd by the king's officers in 1687. He ordered every thing to be reſtored to him, and made him a preſent of three thouſand crowns. Roupli carried his admiration and gratitude into his own country. And when the Perſian ambaſſador, Mehemet Rizabeg, was at Paris, we found that the fame of this action had reached his ears long before.

The abolition of duelling was one of the greateſt ſervices done to the nation. Theſe combats had formerly been authoriſed by our kings, by the parliament itſelf, and even by the church; and though they had been forbid ſince the reign of Henry IV. this barbarous cuſtom continued to be more common than ever. The famous duel of the la Frettes, of four againſt four, in 1663, determined Lewis XIV. no longer to ſuffer them. His ſeaſonable ſeverity, by degrees,

corrected

corrected not only his own kingdom, but even his neighbours, who conformed to this good example, after having long imitated our bad ones. Duels in Europe are a hundred times less common now, than under the reign of Lewis XIII.

He was the legiſlator both of his people and armies. It is ſtrange, that before his time, we had no notion of uniformity in cloathing the troops. It was he, who in the firſt year of his adminiſtration, ordered each regiment to be diſtinguiſhed by the colour of its cloathing, or other different marks: and this regulation was ſoon followed by all other nations. He it was, who inſtituted brigadiers, and introduced thoſe regulations into his houſhold troops, which ſtill continue. He made a company of muſqueteers of cardinal Mazarin's guards, and fixed the number of men at five hundred in the two companies, to which he gave the uniform which they ſtill wear.

Under his reign there was no conſtable, nor any colonel-general of the infantry, after the death of the duke d'Epernon: their power approached too near to that which Lewis XIV. was deſirous, and ought to have himſelf. The marſhal de Grammont, who was only camp maſter of the French Guards under the duke d'Epernon, and took his orders from this colonel-general, no longer took them from any but the king, and was the firſt who had the title of colonel of the guards. He made theſe colonels himſelf at the head of their own regiment, by giving them with his own hand a gilt gorget and pike; and a ſpontoon when the uſe of pikes was aboliſhed. He inſtituted the gre-

nadiers, at first only to the number of four in each company in the regiment, which was of his own creation: afterwards he formed a company of grenadiers in each of the regiments of infantry, and two in the French guards, which now have three. He greatly augmented the dragoons, and gave them a colonel-general. We cannot here omit to mention the establishment of mares and stallions for breeding in 1667, which had been absolutely neglected before, and were of the greatest service in remounting the cavalry.

The use of the bayonet at the end of the musquet was introduced by him. It was sometimes used before, but this was only in a few companies, and not with regularity. Its use was entirely at the will of the general, and pikes were considered as the most formidable weapon. The first regiment which had bayonets, and were exercised in the use of them, was that of the fusiliers, established in 1671.

The manner in which the artillery is now served is entirely owing to him. He instituted academies for it at Douai, and afterwards at Metz, and Strasbourg: and the regiment of artillery was at last filled with officers who were almost all capable to conduct a siege. All the magazines of the kingdom were stored, and were annually furnished with eight hundred thousand pounds of powder. He formed a regiment of bombardiers and another of hussars; which last, before his time, had been only in the troops of our enemies.

In 1688, he established thirty regiments of militia, which were raised and equipped by the communities, and were practised in the military exercise,

exercise, at times when it would not retard their cultivation of the lands.

Companies of cadets were maintained in most of the frontier towns, where they were taught the mathematics, drawing, and all the exercises; and did the duty of soldiers. But this continued only ten years; for the difficulty of forming such a number of youth, at last destroy'd the institution. But the corps of engineers which the king formed, and to which he gave rules, which it still observes, will always continue. The art of fortifying towns was brought to perfection under his reign by the marshal de Vauban and his pupils, who surpassed count Pagan. He either constructed or repaired the fortifications of a hundred and fifty towns.

To maintain military discipline, he appointed inspectors-general, and afterwards directors, whose duty was to review, examine, and give an account of the troops: and from their reports it appeared, whether the military commissioners had done their duty.

He instituted the order of St. Lewis, an honour which is frequently more desired than pecuniary rewards. The hospital for invalids completed his endeavours to deserve the being well served.

It was owing to these regulations, that in the year 1672, he had one hundred and eighty thousand regular troops, which he continued to augment, in proportion as the number and power of his enemies increased, till at last he had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including those in the sea service.

Such numerous armies had never before been seen. His enemies opposed him with troops

which were almoſt as numerous; but they were not ſo ſtrongly united: he ſhewed what France alone could do; and he had always either great ſucceſſes, or great reſources.

The ſame care which he took to form numerous and well-diſciplin'd land armies, even before he was engaged in war, he alſo ſhewed in gaining the dominion of the ſea. The few ſhips which cardinal Mazarin had ſuffered to rot in the ports, were immediately repaired; others were purchaſed in Holland and Sweden; and in the third year of his government he made trial of his maritime forces at Gigiri upon the coaſt of Africa. The duke of Beaufort cleared the ſeas of pirates in the year 1665; and two years after France had ſixty ſhips of war in its ports. And tho' this was only a beginning, yet theſe new regulations and efforts inſpir'd Lewis XIV. with ſuch a ſenſe of his increaſing power, that he would not ſuffer his ſhips to lower their flag before thoſe of England. The council of king Charles II. in vain inſiſted upon this right, which force, induſtry and time had given to the Engliſh. Lewis XIV. wrote to his ambaſſador, the count d'Eſtrade, to this effect: "The king of "England and his chancellor may gain a know-"ledge of my ſtrength, but they do not ſee my "heart. I regard my honour more than all "other things."

He ſaid no more than what he was reſolved to make good: in conſequence of which, the Engliſh uſurpation ſubmitted to the natural right and conſtancy of Lewis XIV: an exact equality was obſerved in every thing at ſea between the two nations. But while Lewis thus inſiſted upon an equality with England, he maintained a ſuperi-

ority

ority in regard to Spain, and obliged the Spaniſh admirals to lower their flag before his, in virtue of the ſolemn precedency granted in 1662.

In the mean time, efforts were every where uſed for the eſtabliſhment of ſuch a naval force, as might juſtify theſe high ſentiments. The town and port of Rochefort was built at the mouth of the Charente. The ſailors, which were to ſerve ſometimes in the merchant-ſhips, and ſometimes in the royal fleets, were regiſter'd and claſs'd, and ſoon amounted to ſixty thouſand men.

Councils were eſtabliſhed in the ports, to give directions for building ſhips in the moſt advantageous manner. Five marine arſenals were erected at Breſt, Rochefort, Toulon, Dunkirk, and Havre-de-Grace. In the year 1672, we had ſixty ſhips of the line, and forty frigates: and in 1681 we had one hundred and ninety eight ſhips of war, including the ſmaller veſſels, and thirty gallies in the port of Toulon, either armed, or ready to be armed. Eleven thouſand regular troops ſerved on board the men of war, and three thouſand in the gallies. One hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand men were claſs'd for the various ſervices in the marine. In the following years there were computed one thouſand gentlemen, or boys of good families, who did the duty of ſoldiers on board the veſſels, and in the ports learned every thing which is neceſſary in the art of navigation. Theſe gentlemen compoſed our marine guards; and they were by ſea what the cadets were by land. They had been inſtituted in 1672, tho' then only few in number. They have formed the ſchool which has produced our beſt and moſt ſkilful ſea officers.

Hitherto there had been no marſhals of France in the marine, which is a proof how greatly this eſſential part of the ſtrength of France had been neglected. John d'Etree was the firſt marſhal in 1681. Lewis XIV. in every thing ſhewed, that his chief care was to raiſe that ſpirit of emulation, without which every thing languiſhes.

The French conſtantly gained the advantage in all their naval engagements, till the battle of la Hogue in 1692, when the count de Tourville, in obedience to orders from court, with forty-five ſail attacked the Engliſh and Dutch fleet of ninety ſhips. The French were forced to ſubmit to ſuch ſuperior force, and they loſt fourteen of their largeſt ſhips; which were ſunk and burnt, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. Yet, notwithſtanding this defeat, we ſtill preſerved our maritime force: but it declined in the war of the ſucceſſion, and we did not begin effectually to reſtore it till 1751, in the time of a happy peace, which is the only time proper to eſtabliſh a good marine; for in time of war, we have neither leiſure nor power to do it.

Theſe naval forces ſerved to protect the commerce. The colonies of Martinico, St. Domingo, and Canada, which before had been in a languiſhing condition, flouriſhed: not indeed ſo finely as they do now, but yet better than had till then been hoped: for from 1635 to 1665, theſe eſtabliſhments had rather been chargeable than otherwiſe.

In 1664, the king ſent a colony to Cayenne, and another ſoon after to Madagaſcar. He uſed every means in his power to repair the error and misfortune under which France had ſo long laboured,

boured, by a neglect of the ſea, while her neighbours had been forming empires in the moſt diſtant parts of the world.

From this general view it appears, what changes were made in the ſtate by Lewis XIV. They were advantageous changes, becauſe they ſtill ſubſiſt; and his miniſters were emulous to ſecond him in them: the diſpoſition and execution was doubtleſs owing to them; but the general plan was formed by the king. It is certain, that the magiſtrates would not have reformed the laws; that order would not have been reſtored in the finances; diſcipline would not have been introduced into the troops, nor a general civil policy throughout the kingdom: that we ſhould have had no fleets: that the arts would not have been encouraged: and all this in concert, and at the ſame time, with perſeverance, and under different miniſters, if there had not been a ſovereign, who had in general all theſe deſigns in view, with a firm reſolution to put them in execution.

He always conſidered his own glory as inſeparable from the good of his kingdom; and he did not regard it in the ſame light that a private gentleman conſiders his eſtate, out of which he gets as much as he can, only to live in pleaſures. Every king who loves true glory, loves the public good. He had no Colbert, nor no Louvois, when about the year 1698, for the inſtruction of the duke of Burgundy, he ordered each of the intendants to draw up a particular deſcription of his province. By this means an exact account of the kingdom would be obtained, and a juſt enumeration of the inhabitants. It was a uſeful work; tho' all the intendants had not the capacity

city and attention of monſieur de Lamoignan de Baville. Had what the king directed been as well executed in regard to every province, as it was by this magiſtrate in his account of Languedoc, the collection would have been one of the moſt valuable monuments of the age. Some of them are well done: but the plan was irregular and imperfect, becauſe all the intendants were not reſtrained to one and the ſame. It were to be wiſhed, that each of them had given in columns the number of inhabitants in each election; the nobles, the citizens, the labourers, the artiſans, the mechanic, ; the cattle of every kind; the good, the indifferent, and the bad lands; all the clergy, regular and ſecular; their revenues; thoſe of the towns, and thoſe of the communities.

All theſe heads, in moſt of their accounts, are confuſed and imperfect: and it is frequently neceſſary to ſearch with great care and pains to find what is wanted; tho' a miniſter ought to have theſe things ſo diſpoſed, as to be able inſtantly to diſcover the forces, the neceſſities, and the reſources. The deſign was excellent, and would have been of the greateſt uſe, had it been executed with judgment and uniformity.

Thus we have given a general view of what Lewis XIV. did, and attempted to do, to render his kingdom more flouriſhing: and we cannot, ſurely, behold all theſe atchievements and efforts without ſome gratitude, nor without being animated with that love for the publick good which inſpired them. We may compare in our minds the ſtate of the kingdom, in the time of the Fronde, with its preſent ſtate. Lewis XIV. did more for the ſervice of his kingdom than twenty

of his predeceſſors together. But the war which was concluded by the peace of Ryſwic, tho' its conſequences were not ſo bad as might have been expected, commenced the ruin of that great commerce which Colbert had eſtabliſhed; and the war of the ſucceſſion compleated it.

Had Lewis XIV. employed thoſe immenſe ſums to adorn Paris, and compleat the Louvre, which he expended in the aqueducts and works of Maintenon, to bring waters to Verſailles, which were frequently interrupted, and are now become fruitleſs; had he expended in Paris the fifth part only of what it coſt him to force nature at Verſailles, all Paris would now have been as beautiful as it is on that ſide next the Tuilleries and the Pont-royal, and would have been the moſt magnificent city in the world.

To reform the laws, was effecting a great deal: but juſtice was not able to deſtroy chicane. The government once thought of rendering our juriſprudence uniform. It is ſo in criminal matters, and in commerce; and it might be ſo in the laws which regard the property of the ſubject. It is a very great inconvenience, that one and the ſame tribunal muſt give judgment in more than a hundred cauſes on different ſubjects. Rights to lands, which are either equivocal, oppreſſive, or otherwiſe inconvenient to ſociety, ſtill ſubſiſt, and is a remain of that fœdal government, which is now no more. They are fragments of a Gothic building, which is deſtroyed. Uniformity in every part of the adminiſtration is a virtue; but the difficulties in this great work have prevented an attempt from being made.

Lewis

Lewis XIV. might have more eaſily diſpenſed with the dangerous reſource to the farmers of the taxes, to which he was compelled by his conſtant anticipation of his revenues, as will appear in the chapter on the finances.

If he had not thought his will a ſufficient reaſon to make a million of people change their religion, France would not have loſt ſo many of its inhabitants *. Nevertheleſs this kingdom, notwithſtanding its civil diſſentions and loſſes, is at this day the moſt flouriſhing upon earth; becauſe all the good done by Lewis XIV. ſtill ſubſiſts; and the evil, which it was difficult to avoid in the times of trouble, has been repaired. Poſterity, which is the judge of all kings, and whoſe judgments they ſhould always have before their eyes, will confeſs, after mature conſideration of the virtues and weakneſſes of this monarch, that tho' he might have been too highly extolled in his life-time, he ought nevertheleſs to be for ever praiſed and honoured: and that he was in every reſpect worthy of the ſtatue erected for him at Montpellier, with a Latin inſcription, the meaning of which was: *To Lewis the great after his death.*

All theſe changes in the government, and the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, of which we have here given an account, neceſſarily produced a very conſiderable change in our manners. That ſpirit of faction, rage, and rebellion, which had poſſeſſed the nation from the time of Francis II, was changed into an emulation to ſerve the prince. The lords, who poſſeſſed great eſtates, being no longer cantoned in them; the governors of the provinces, having no longer any important poſts to beſtow, every

* See the chapter upon Calviniſm.

every one endeavoured to deſerve favours only from the ſovereign, and the ſtate became one entire and regular body, every part of which aroſe from, and depended upon, the center.

By this means, the court was freed from thoſe factions and conſpiracies, which had diſturbed the ſtate for ſo many years. Under the adminiſtration of Lewis XIV, there was only one conſpiracy, in 1674, which was formed by Truamont, a Norman gentleman, who was overwhelmed in debaucheries and debts; in which he was joined by one of the houſe of Rohan, who by the ſame conduct had reduced himſelf to the ſame indigence. The only perſon beſides, who entered into this conſpiracy, was the chevalier de Preaux, the nephew of Truamont, who being ſeduced by his uncle, he alſo ſeduced his miſtreſs, madam de Villiers. Their deſign neither was nor could be to gain a party in the kingdom: they only intended to ſell and deliver up Quillebuf to the Dutch, and introduce the enemy into Normandy. It was not ſo properly a conſpiracy, as a baſe act of treachery, ill executed. The only conſequence of this fruitleſs and abſurd deſign was, the puniſhment of thoſe concerned in it; and the memory of their crime is now almoſt forgotten.

There were, perhaps, ſome few ſeditions in the provinces; but theſe were only inconſiderable popular tumults, which were eaſily ſuppreſſed. The Hugonets themſelves always continued peaceable, to the time when their places of worſhip were demoliſhed. A people which till then had been remarkably turbulent, the king rendered peaceable, and dangerous only to their enemies, after having been ſo to their ſovereigns for more than an hundred years before. Our manners were improved, and our courage not abated. The

The ladies of quality, in the houſes which the nobility had built and purchaſed in Paris, lived with dignity, and formed ſchools of politeneſs, which by degrees drew our youth from that tavern life, which had ſo long been the mode, and which only tended to increaſe debauchery and impudence. Manners are governed by inconſiderable things: the cuſtom of riding on horſeback in Paris, had produced a diſpoſition to frequent quarrels, which ceaſed as ſoon as this cuſtom was aboliſhed. Decency, for which we are principally obliged to the ladies, who aſſembled company at their houſes, rendered converſation and ſociety more agreeable; and reading at laſt rendered them more ſolid. Treaſon, and other atrocious crimes, by which, in times of faction and trouble, men do not think themſelves diſhonoured, were now in a manner unknown. The crimes of Brinvilliers and Voiſins, could be conſidered only as fleeting ſtorms, in a ſky which was otherwiſe clear and ſerene: and it would be as unreaſonable to condemn a nation for the glaring crimes of a few particular perſons, as it would be to canonize it for the reformation of a few hereticks.

All the different ſtations of life were before diſtinguiſhable, by certain faults which characterized them. Thoſe in the military ſervice, and the young men deſigned for the profeſſion of arms, had an overbearing vivacity: the lawyers had a diſagreeable gravity, to which the cuſtom of always appearing in their gowns, even at court, did not contribute a little. It was the ſame with regard to the univerſities and the phyſicians. Tradeſmen ſtill continued to wear their gowns when they aſſembled or went to the miniſter; and

and the moſt eminent merchants were then very unpoliſhed: but the houſes, the theatres, and the public walks, which began to be frequented for the ſake of more agreeable ſociety, by degrees rendered the exterior of all perſons almoſt alike. Politeneſs now appears from the higheſt ſtations, down to the tradeſman's ſhop; and time has introduced theſe changes into the provinces.

Luxury is at laſt confined to taſte and convenience; and the crowd of pages and domeſtics in livery has diſappeared, to introduce more eaſe and elegance into the houſes of the great. Vain pomp, and the pride of exterior ſhow, is reſigned to other nations, which yet regard nothing but their public appearance, and where they are ſtill ignorant of the true art of living.

The great eaſe introduced into the commerce of the world, affability, ſimplicity, and an improvement of the underſtanding, have rendered Paris a city, which, for the agreeable manner of living, is probably much ſuperior to Rome or Athens, even in the heighth of their glory.

Some people complain of no longer ſeeing grandeur and dignity aſſumed at court, as formerly. In reality, there are now none of thoſe petty tyrants, which we had in the time of the Fronde, under Lewis XIII, and in the preceding ages. But true greatneſs is now reſtored among our numerous gentry, which had ſo long been degraded by ſerving thoſe powerful ſubjects. Gentlemen and citizens, who formerly would have thought themſelves honoured in being the domeſtics of theſe lords, are now become their equals, and frequently their ſuperiors in the military ſervice; and the more ſervices prevail in every thing over titles, the more a ſtate is flouriſhing.

The

The age of Lewis XIV. has been compared to that of Auguſtus. Not that the power or the perſonal actions can be compared: Rome and Auguſtus were ten times more conſiderable in the world than Lewis XIV. and Paris. But we muſt remember, that Athens was equal to the Roman empire in all thoſe things which do not derive their excellence from ſtrength and power. We muſt alſo conſider, that if there is nothing now in the world like Rome and Auguſtus, nevertheleſs all Europe together is greatly ſuperior to the whole Roman empire. Under Auguſtus there was only one nation; but now there are ſeveral, which are learned, martial, and polite, and which poſſeſs arts unknown to the Greeks and Romans; and among theſe nations, there is not one that has been more diſtinguiſhed in every thing, for about a century, than the nation which was, in ſome meaſure, formed by Lewis XIV.

CHAP. XXVIII.

FINANCES.

IF we compare the adminiſtration of Colbert with that of all the miniſters who went before him, poſterity cannot enough revere the memory of that great man; whoſe body, after his death, the mad multitude would have torn in pieces. The French are, without queſtion, indebted to him for their induſtry and commerce, and, of conſequenee, for that opulence, the ſources of which are ſometimes ſtopped in time of war, but never fail to open themſelves again with abundance during peace. And yet, in the year 1702, France was ſtill ungrateful enough to blame Col-

ber

ert for the diſorders that began to be felt in the xchequer. A financer of Normandy publiſhed bout this time a detail of the revenue of France, n two ſmall volumes, pretending, that ſince the ear 1660, every thing had been in a declining tate. But the very contrary of this was true, for rance was never ſo flouriſhing as from the death f cardinal Mazarin to the war of 1689; and even n that war, the body of the ſtate, which al-eady began to feel decay, ſtill ſupported itſelf y the vigour which Colbert diffuſed into all its nembers. The author of the detail pretends, hat ſince the year 1660, the kingdom had ſunk n real value fifteen hundred millions. This ac-ount was ſo far from being true, that it had not ven the leaſt air of probability. Yet his capti-us arguments were received as ſo many demon-rations, by thoſe who had reſolved to ſwallow is ridiculous paradox. Thus in England, in e moſt flouriſhing times, papers are continu-lly coming out, to prove that the kingdom is ndone.

It is eaſier in France than in any other country, o ruin the ſuperintendant of the finances in the inds of the people. The miniſtry itſelf is of e moſt odious kind, becauſe taxes are always o: beſides, there reigns in general in the affairs f the revenue, no leſs prejudice and ignorance an in matters of philoſophy.

So far were we from having a perfect knowledge f this ſubject, that even in our own days, ſo late the year 1718: the parliament was heard to tell e duke of Orleans in a body, *that the intrinſical alue of a mark of ſilver is five and twenty livres*; s if there was another real and intrinſical value, ifferent from that of weight and ſtandard: and the

the duke of Orleans, with all his penetration, ſeems not to have been aware of this miſtake of the parliament.

It is true, Colbert did not do all he might have done, much leſs all he would have done. The ſtate of the revenue was not then ſo well underſtood; and in large kingdoms there are always many and great abuſes. The arbitrary nature of taxes; the multiplicity of exemptions: the duties from province to province, which begat an eſtrangement, nay often an enmity between the ſeveral parts of the ſame kingdom; the inequality of meaſures in different cities; with twenty other diſorders incident to the body politic, are of a nature not to be remedied.

Colbert, to anſwer at once the continual expence of wars, buildings, and pleaſures, was obliged to revive in the year 1672, what at firſt he had reſolved to aboliſh for ever; proviſional impoſts, annuities, new places, augmentations of ſalaries, with ſuch other expedients as relieve a ſtate for the preſent, and plunge it into debt for many years to come.

He found it impoſſible to adhere to the meaſures his own judgment approved; for it appears ſufficiently, by his inſtructions to thoſe employ'd under him, that he was perſuaded the true riches of a country conſiſted in the number of inhabitants, the culture of the lands, the induſtry of the people, and the proſperous ſtate of commerce. He ſaw that the king poſſeſſed very ſmall domains, and being no more than the ſteward of his people's wealth, could not otherwiſe be truly rich, than by taxes eaſy to collect, and equally proportioned.

He

He was ſo apprehenſive of delivering the ſtate into the hands of the farmers of the revenue, that ſome time after the diſſolution of the chamber of juſtice, which at his deſire had been erected againſt them, he procured an arret of council, declaring it capital for any one to advance money upon new taxes. By this threatning decree, which however was never printed, he meant to keep the officers of the cuſtoms in awe: yet ſoon after he was obliged to have recourſe to their aid, even without revoking the arret of council. The king's wants were preſſing, and ways and means for a ſupply muſt be found.

This fatal expedient, brought from Italy into France by Catherine de Medicis, had ſo totally corrupted the government, by the pernicious facility with which it anſwered any ſudden demand, that after having been aboliſhed in the happy days of Henry IV. it appeared again during the whole reign of Lewis XIII. and greatly infected the latter times of Lewis XIV.

Six years after colbert's death, in 1689, France was ſuddenly plunged into a war, which ſhe was obliged to maintain againſt all the powers of Europe, without having any funds in reſerve. Pelletier, who was then at the head of the finances, hoped to find a remedy for this in the diminution of luxury. An ordinance was publiſhed, requiring that all the maſſy plate, which was then in great quantity in the houſes of the great, and conſidered as a proof of wealth and abundance, ſhould be brought to the mint. The king himſelf ſet the example, by reſigning all his tables of ſolid plate, his ſilver ſtands, bracelets, and chandeliers, his large canopy beds, and all the curious chaſed work belonging to his houſhold,

which

which were the masterpieces of the ingenious Balin, a man singalar in his way, and executed after the designs of le Brun. They cost originally upwards of ten millions; but on this occasion produced only three. The wrought plate belonging to particular persons yielded about three more: but this altogether was but an inconsiderable resource.

Towards the years 1691, and 1692, the finances were perceived to be in extreme disorder. Those who attribute the decay of the public revenue to the profusion of Lewis XIV. in his buildings, upon the arts, and upon his pleasures, seem not to be sensible, that on the contrary, the expences that tend to promote industry, serve to enrich a state. 'Tis only war that necessarily impoverishes a state, unless where the spoils of the vanquished serve to enrich it. Since the time of the antient Roman, I know of no nation that has enriched itself by its victories. Italy, in the sixteenth century, owed its wealth entirely to its commerce. Holland would have subsisted but a very short time, had it looked no farther than the seizure of the Spanish plate fleets, and neglected to lay the foundations of its power in the Indies. England is always impoverished by war, even when it is most successful against the naval armies of France, and owes all its grandeur to its commerce. The Algerines, who support themselves solely by their piracies, are a very wretched people.

Among the European nations, war, after a certain term of years, reduces the conqueror to the same distress with the conquered. It is a gulph that swallows up all the channels of plenty. Ready money, that principle of all good and of all

evil, levied with ſo much difficulty in the provinces, flows into the coffers of a hundred ſtock-jobbers, and farmers of the revenue, who advance the ſums demanded by the ſtate, and by theſe advances, purchaſe the privilege of plundering the nation in the name of the ſovereign. The people in conſequence of this, regarding the government as their enemy, conceal their wealth, and want of circulation throws the kingdom into a languiſhing condition.

No ſuddenly deviſed expedient can anſwer the purpoſes of a fixed and known eſtabliſhment, of long ſtanding, and calculated with an eye to the moſt remote contingencies. The comptroller-general, Pontchartrain, in the year 1669, ſold patents of nobility for two thouſand crowns. About five hundred perſons purchaſed on this occaſion: the reſource was tranſient, the infamy laſting. An ordinance appeared, requiring all the nobility, antient and modern, to regiſter their coats of arms, and to pay for the permiſſion of uſing them in ſealing their letters. The officers of the cuſtoms bargained for this tax, and advanced the money. The miniſters ſcarce ever had recourſe but to ſuch low expedients, in a kingdom capable of furniſhing others far more conſiderable.

It was not till the year 1710, that the government ventured to impoſe the tax of the tenth penny. This tenth penny coming upon the neck of ſo many other burthenſom taxes, appeared to be ſo oppreſſive, that it was not thought adviſable to levy it with rigour. The government did not gain twenty-five millions yearly from it, at forty livres the mark.

Colbert

Colbert made very few attempts to alter the value of the coin. It were indeed better, never to make any ſuch attempt at all. Silver and gold, the common ſtandards of exchange, ought to to be regarded as invariable meaſures. The value of a mark of ſilver in his time was fixed at fifty and twenty livres, nor did he increaſe it to more than ſeven and twenty; but after him, in the latter years of Lewis XIV. we find it valued at no leſs than forty imaginary livres; a fatal expedient, which eaſed the king for a time, to ruin him afterwards: for inſtead of a mark of ſilver, he received little more than half that value. He who in 1683 owed twenty ſeven livres, paid a mark; and he who in 1710, owed forty livres, paid a mark likewiſe. The diminutions which followed ſoon after, gave a no leſs ſhock to the little commerce that remained, than the augmentations had done before.

A real reſource might have been found in a well contrived bank, with notes of credit; but to render ſuch a bank uſeful in different conjunctures, it ought to be eſtabliſhed in a time of proſperity.

The miniſter, Chamillard, began in the year 1706, to make payments in bank bills, in billets of ſubſiſtence, and in billets of free quarters; but as this paper money was not received at the exchequer, its credit was deſtroyed almoſt as ſoon as it appeared. The government was neceſſitated to continue the practiſe of burdenſome loans, and to anticipate four years of the royal revenue.

The comptroller-general des Marets, nephew to the illuſtrious Colbert, ſucceeding Chamillard in 1708, found it impoſſible to heal a diſorder which all circumſtances concurred to render incurable.

Natur

Nature conſpired with fortune to overwhelm e ſtate. The cruel winter of 1709, forced the ng to remit nine millions of taxes to his peo- e, at a time when he had not wherewithal to pay troops. The ſcarcity of proviſions was ſo ceſſive, that it coſt five and forty millions for e ſubſiſtence of the army. The expences of e Year 1709 amounted to two hundred and enty one millions; and the king's ordinary re- nue ſcarce produced forty nine. Thus was the te unavoidably ruined, in order to prevent its ling under the power of its enemies. The orders encreaſed to ſuch a degree, and ſo lit- was done to repair it, that long after the ace, in the beginning of the year 1715, the g was obliged to negotiate bills to the amount thirty two millions in ſpecie. In ſhort, he t at his death, a debt of two thouſand ſix ndred millions, at twenty eight livres to the rk, according to the value of the coin at that e; which makes about four thouſand five ndred millions of our money as it ſtood in 50.

It is aſtoniſhing, yet true, that this immenſe t would have been no inſupportable burden n the ſtate, had France at that time been eſſed of flouriſhing commerce, an eſtabliſhed k, and wealthy companies capable of ſupport- the credit of its bills, as in Sweden, Eng- d, Venice, and Holland. For when the ts of a powerful ſtate center wholly in it- f, circulation and public credit always furniſh ans of payment. But France at that time s far from being in a capacity to put ſo vaſt and mplicated a machine in motion, under the ight of which it lay in a manner cruſhed.

Lewis XIV. during his reign, expended eigh
teen thouſand millions; which one time wit
another, comes to three hundred and thirty mi
lions yearly of preſent money, allowing for th
various augmentations and diminutions of valu
it underwent.

Under the adminiſtration of the great Colber
the ordinary revenues of the crown did not ex
ceed an hundred and ſeventeen millions,
twenty ſeven livres to the mark. The ſurplu
therefore was always furniſhed by extraordinar
methods of ſupply. Colbert, for inſtance, d
ring the war of 1672, was obliged to raiſe fo
hundred millions extraordinary, in ſix yea
time.

Thoſe who have taken the trouble to compa
the revenues of Lewis XIV. with thoſe of Lew
XV. have found, in confining themſelves to th
fixed and current revenue, that Lewis XIV. w
much richer in 1683, the epocha of Colbert
death, with a hundred and ſeventeen millions
yearly revenue, than his ſucceſſor Lewis XV.
1730, with almoſt two hundred millions: a
this is an undoubted truth, if we conſider on
the fixed and ordinary rents of the crown. F
a hundred and ſeventeen millions, at twenty ſ
ven livres to the mark, makes a greater ſum th
two hundred millions, when the mark is valu
at forty nine livres, which was the caſe in 173
not to mention the load of debt the crown th
lay under. But the royal revenues, I mean tho
of the ſtate, have conſiderably encreaſed ſince th
time; and the conſtitution of the finances is no
ſo well underſtood, that in the ruinous wars
1741, the public credit was never once at a ſtan
The miniſtry have fallen upon the way of eſt
bliſhin

bliſhing public funds, as among the Engliſh: it was found neceſſary to adopt in part the ſyſtem of their revenue as well as their philoſophy; and were it poſſible, in a government purely monarchical, to introduce a circulation of paper money, which doubles at leaſt the riches of England, France would attain its higheſt pitch of power and grandeur.

The current coin of the kingdom, in 1683, might amount to about five hundred millions: at preſent it may be about twelve hundred millions, according to the ſtandard valuation of money. But the computation of our time is almoſt double what it was in the time of Colbert; ſo that France is not above a ſixth richer in ſpecie ſince the death of that miniſter. It is otherwiſe in reſpect of gold and ſilver plate, and the various implements of luxury. The amount of theſe in 1690 ſcarce came to four hundred millions preſent money; whereas they are now rated equal to the current coin of the kingdom. Nothing can demonſtrate more clearly, how much commerce, whoſe ſources were firſt opened by Colbert, has encreaſed ſince the concluſion of the wars. Induſtry continued to flouriſh, notwithſtanding the loſs of ſo many artificers, diſperſed by the revocation of the edict of Nantes; and this induſtry ſtill improves every day. The nation is capable of as great, nay of greater things than under Lewis XIV. becauſe genius and commerce, when duly encouraged, never fail to receive new acceſſions of ſtrength.

To ſee the affluence in which private perſons live, the prodigious number of fine houſes built in Paris and the provinces, the multitude of equipages, the conveniencies and refinements of luxury,

ury, one can hardly forbear thinking, that the wealth of France muſt have encreaſed at leaſt twenty fold. All this, however, is the fruit of an ingenious induſtry, ſtill more than of our riches. It ſcarce coſts more at preſent, to be accommodated with a handſome houſe, than with a wretched one in the days of Henry IV. The fine brocades manufactured at home, adorn our apartments at a far leſs expence, than did formerly thoſe imported from Venice. Our rich and curious ſtuffs come cheaper than thoſe of foreign countries, and even exceed them in goodneſs. In reality, it is not gold and ſilver that procure the accommodations of life, but genius and induſtry. A people poſſeſſed only of theſe two metals would be very miſerable. On the other hand, a people deſtitute of theſe metals, but who know how to manufacture properly all the productions of the earth, would be the truly wealthy nation. France enjoys this advantage, with a much greater quantity of gold and ſilver, than is neceſſary for the mere purpoſes of circulation.

The country remains in pretty much the ſame ſituation as formerly. Nature ſeems to have impoſed upon far the greateſt part of mankind an abſolute neceſſity of labour. The proportion eſtabliſhed in the taxes, inſtead of that arbitrary method which prevailed in almoſt all the provinces, has only introduced a more equitable aſſeſſment, and eaſed the peaſants a little, who ought not to be miſerable.

The middle order of people are grown rich by virtue of their induſtry: the miniſters and courtiers have rather ſuffered in this general revolution; becauſe the value of the coin being diminiſhed

niſhed almoſt one half, their ſalaries and penſions continue the ſame, and the price of proviſions is more than double. By this means we ſee leſs opulence than formerly among the great, and more among thoſe of inferior rank, which has brought the people nearer to a level. In ſhort, after whatever manner the finances are adminiſtered, France, in the induſtry of more than twenty millions of inhabitants, poſſeſſes an ineſtimable treaſure.

CHAP. XXIX.

SCIENCES and ARTS.

THIS happy age, which beheld ſo wonderful a revolution in the mind of man, ſeemed not to have been deſtined to ſuch an event. For to begin with philoſophy, there was but little appearance, in the time of Lewis XIII. that it would be able to extricate itſelf from the darkneſs in which it was involved. The inquiſition in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, had linked the errors of philoſophy with the doctrines of religion. The civil wars in France, and the diſputes raiſed by Calviniſm, were as little calculated to cultivate human reaſon, as was the Fanaticiſm that prevailed in England during the uſurpation of Cromwell. If a canon of Thorn had revived the antient planetary ſyſtem of the Chaldeans, exploded for ſo many ages, that doctrine had been condemned at Rome: and the congregation of the holy Office, conſiſting of ſeven cardinals, having declared the motion of the earth, without which there can be no true aſtronomy, not only heretical, but abſurd; the great Galileo having been obliged to ſign a recantation at the age of

ſeventy, for preſuming to maintain opinions ſupported by reaſon, there was but little appearance that truth would make its way in the world. The lord chancellor Bacon had pointed out at a diſtance the courſe we were to purſue: Galileo had made ſome diſcoveries in relation to the deſcent of heavy bodies: Torricelli began to aſcertain the weight of the air that ſurrounds us: and ſome experiments upon natural bodies had been made at Magdeburg. But theſe were only feeble eſſays: the world ſtill continued in ignorance, and the ſchools abounded with abſurdities. Deſcartes then appeared; who by a conduct the very reverſe of what he ought to have purſued, inſtead of ſtudying nature, fell to unravelling her operations by conjecture. He was the greateſt geometrican of his age; but geometry commonly leaves the imagination as it finds it. That of Deſcartes had a ſtrong byaſs to invention. The prince of mathematicians was little more than a romancer in philoſophy. A man who diſdained making experiments, who never once quoted Galileo, who was at no pains to furniſh himſelf with materials, could build only caſtles in the air.

What was purely romantic in his ſyſtem ſucceeded; and the few truths mixed with theſe philoſophical chimeras were at firſt oppoſed. But theſe few truths at laſt, by virtue of the method he introduced, began to pierce the gloom that overſhadowed the human mind: for before him, there was no clue to lead through this labyrinth of error; and he at laſt furniſhed one, which ſerved to guide others, after it was known that he himſelf had loſt his way. It was a great point gained, to deſtroy the chimeras of the Peripate-

tic

philoſophy, tho' by other chimeras no leſs in. Theſe two phantoms for ſome time kept e field; and falling one after the other, reaſon ected her throne upon their ruins. There was Florence an academy for experiments, under e name of the academy Delcimento, founded cardinal Leopold de Medicis, in the year 665. It was perceived already in this parent ountry of the arts, that there was no way of omprehending any thing in the grand edifice of ature, but that of examining the whole ſtructure particular parts. The academy Delcimento, ter the days of Galileo and Torricelli, made any ſignal diſcoveries in natural knowledge.

Some Philoſophers of England, under the urped dominion of Cromwell, agreed to meet mong themſelves in ſearch of truth, at a time hen all truth lay oppreſſed by the ravages of nthuſiaſm. Charles II. being recalled to the rone of his anceſtors, by the levity and change- le temper of the nation, granted letters patent this riſing academy: but this was all the en- ouragement it received from the government. he royal ſociety, or rather the incorporated ſo- iety of London, was inſtigated by the ſole mo- ve of promoting knowledge. To this illuſtri- us body we are indebted for the late diſcove- es relating to light, the principle of gravitation, e motion of the fixed ſtars, the geometry of ranſcendental quantities, and an hundred other ventions; which, in this reſpect, might juſtly enominate the age of which we ſpeak, the age f the Engliſh, as well as that of Louis XIV.

In 1666, M. Colbert, jealous of this new lory, was reſolved the French ſhould have a

ſhare in it; and at the requeſt of ſeveral learned men, brought Lewis XIV. to agree to the eſtabliſhment of an academy of ſciences. It became an incorporated ſociety in 1669, like that of London, and the French academy. Colbert brought Dominico Caſſini from Italy, and Huygens from Holland, by the offer of large penſions. To them we owe the diſcovery of Saturn's ſatellites and ring. Huygens was the inventor of pendulum clocks. By degrees, a genuine knowledge in all the different branches of true phyſics began to prevail, and the chimeras of the ſyſtematic philoſophy were exploded. The public beheld with wonder a chimeſtry, in which no mention was made of the philoſopher's ſtone, or the art of prolonging life beyond its natural bounds; an aſtronomy that pretended not to foretel future events; a phyſic independent of the phaſes and aſpects of the moon. Corruption was no longer the parent of animals and plants; nor was philoſophy filled with prodigies, when nature came to be better underſtood.

She was now ſtudied in all her productions. Geography received amazing improvements. No ſooner was an obſervatory built, by the order of Lewis XIV. than Dominico Caſſini, and M. Picart, began a meridian line in 1669. It was continued northward, in 1683, by La Hire; and in fine Caſſini, in 1700, carried it as far as the extremity of Rouſillon. It is the fineſt monument of aſtronomy extant, and ſufficient of itſelf to immortalize the age.

In the year 1672, a number of eminent naturaliſts were ſent to Caienna, for the ſake of making uſeful obſervations. This voyage gave riſe to the diſcovery of a new law of nature, which was

was afterwards demonſtrated by the great Sir Iſaac Newton; and paved the way to thoſe ſtill more famous voyages, which have ſince given ſuch a luſtre to the reign of Lewis XV.

In the year 1700, Tournefort was ſent to the Levant, where he collected an infinite number of new plants, to enrich the royal garden, before almoſt quite abandoned, but thenceforward held in honour, and is become at this day worthy the curioſity of all Europe. The royal library, already well ſtored, was increaſed under Lewis XIV. with more than thirty thouſand volumes; and this example has been ſo well followed ſince, that it contains at preſent upwards of a hundred and fourſcore thouſand books and manuſcripts. The ſchool of civil law was again opened, after it had been ſhut for almoſt a century. Profeſſors of French law were eſtabliſhed in all the univerſities of the kingdom: and, indeed, reaſon ſeems to direct that no other ſhould be allowed; and that the beſt Roman inſtitutions, being incorporated with thoſe of the counrry, ſhould be formed into one compleat body of laws for the nation.

Under this prince were the literary Journals firſt eſtabliſhed. It is well known, that the Journal des Savans, which began in 1665, is the parent of all the ſeveral productions of this kind, with which Europe now abounds, and into which many abuſes have crept, as is but too common in the moſt uſeful Inſtitutions.

The academy of Belles Letters, compoſed of ſome members of the French academy, and inſtituted in 1663, to tranſmit to poſterity by medals the actions of Lewis XIV. became of con-

ſiderable utility to the public, when they no longer confined themſelves merely to the monarch, but applying their reſearches to antiquity, began an impartial criticiſm of opinions and facts. They did nearly the ſame ſervice to hiſtory, which the academy of ſciences did to natural philoſophy: they diſſipated error, and removed ſome of the prejudices that ſtood in the way of knowledge.

The ſpirit of good ſenſe and criticiſm, which now began to prevail more and more, deſtroyed inſenſibly many of thoſe ſuperſtitious notions, which had ſo long infatuated the world. To theſe firſt dawnings of reaſon we owe that celebrated declaration of the king in 1672, forbidding the tribunals of juſtice to receive any ſimple accuſations of witchcraft. Such a ſtep, in the reign of Henry IV, or Lewis XIII, might have been attended with dangerous conſequences; and tho' perhaps there have been ſome accuſations of this kind, ſince the publiſhing of that declaration, yet it does not appear that the judges ever condemned perſons ſo accuſed, unleſs where an open profanation of religion, or the uſe of poiſon, was clearly proved againſt them.

It was a very common practice before this time, to try ſorcerers by throwing them into a pond, bound hand and foot. If they had the misfortune to ſwim, it was looked upon as infallible demonſtration of guilt. Theſe trials had been eſtabliſhed by the judges in ſeveral provinces, and they continued long in uſe among the people. Every ſhepherd was a ſorcerer: amulets and magic rings were in great requeſt. The effects attributed to the hazel ſwitch, which was thought to diſcover thieves, treaſures, and the moſt hidden things,

things, passed for certain; and still meet with a great deal of credit in many considerable provinces of Germany. It was the universal practice for persons to have their nativity cast. Nothing was talked of but magical secrets; all ranks of people were infected with the illusion. Magistrates and learned men had written seriously upon these subjects, insomuch that there was a certain class of authors distinguished by the name of *Demonographi*. Rules were laid down for distinguishing the true magicians from the false: in short, nothing had hitherto been adopted from antiquity, but superstition and error.

These superstitious notions had taken such deep root, that so late as the year 1680, the appearance of a comet gave universal terror. It was even dangerous to oppose this popular apprehension. James Bernoulli, a considerable mathematician of that time, in his answer to those who contended for the ominous nature of planets, says, that the body of the comet cannot be a sign of the Divine wrath, because it is eternal; but the tail, he allows, may: Nevertheless, neither the body nor tail of the comet are eternal. Bayle attacked this vulgar prejudice, in a book which was celebrated at that time, but which the progress of human reason has rendered useless now.

Few can be induced to believe, that sovereigns owe under any great obligation to philosophers. It is nevertheless certain, that the philosophic spirit, which has gained so much upon all ranks of people, the mere vulgar excepted, has contributed not a little to strengthen the rights and secure the tranquillity of princes. Those quarrels, which in former ages would have produced excommunications,

communications, interdicts, and ſchiſms, have n
ſuch effects at preſent. It has been commonl
ſaid, that mankind would be happy, if they ha
philoſophers for their kings: with equal juſtic
may we ſay, that kings are much the happie
for having a great number of their ſubjects ph
loſophers.

It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that the rea
ſonable ſpirit which begins to prevail in the edu
cation of youth, in the greater towns, has no
been able to ſtop the extravagancies of fanat
ciſm in the Cevennes, nor prevent the infatuati
of the lower people of Paris in relation to th
tomb of St. Medard, nor quiet the warm an
frivolous diſputes which have ariſen among me
who ought to have been wiſer. But before thi
period, theſe diſputes had cauſed troubles in th
ſtate; the miracles of St. Medard had gain
credit with the moſt conſiderable citizens; an
the fanaticiſm of the Cevennes had infected th
towns and provinces.

All the ſeveral ſubjects of ſcience and liter
ture were exhauſted during this period; and ſuc
a multitude of writers appeared, eminent fo
their diſcoveries and knowledge, that thoſe wh
in other ages would have paſſed for prodigies o
learning, are now ſcarce regarded in the crow
Their glory is not conſpicuous, becauſe of the
number; but the glory of the age is thereb
raiſed the higher.

ARTS.

True philoſophy made not the ſame progre
in France, as it did in England, and at Florence
and tho' the academy of ſciences helped ver
much to promote the experimental knowledge o
nature

nature, yet it gave not France any advantage in this reſpect over other nations: all the great diſcoveries, all the leading truths in philoſophy, took their riſe elſewhere.

But in eloquence, in poetry, in polite learning, in books of morality and entertainment, the French may be conſidered as the legiſlators of Europe. Italy was no longer diſtinguiſhed for its good taſte this way. True eloquence was every where unknown; nothing could be more prepoſterous than the language of the pulpit; nothing more ridiculous than the pleadings at the bar. The preachers quoted Ovid and Virgil; the lawyers St. Auſtin and St. Jerome. A genius had not yet ariſen, capable of giving a delicate turn, harmony, propriety, and dignity of expreſſion to the French tongue. Some verſes of Malherbe had indeed made it appear, that the language was capable of grandeur and force; but that was all. The ſame writers, who had ſucceeded ſo well in Latin, as the preſident de Thou, and the chancellor de l'Hoſpital, ſeemed quite other men when they engaged with their own language; which was altogether intractable in their hand. The French as yet had nothing to recommend it, but a certain air of ſimplicity, which conſtituted the whole merit of Joinville, of Amiot, of Marot, of Montagne, of Regnier, and of the Satire Menippée, This ſimplicity was not without a conſiderable ſhare of irregularity and ruſticity.

John de Lingendes, biſhop of Macon, unknown to the preſent age, becauſe his works were never printed, was the firſt orator who ſpoke in the ſublime taſte. His ſermons and funeral orations, tho' not wholly free from the ruſt of the times,

times, ſerved as a model to the orators who imitated and ſurpaſſed him. The funeral oration of Charles Emanuel, duke of Savoy, ſurnamed the great in his own country, ſpoke by Lingendes in 1630, was full of ſuch maſterly ſtrokes of eloquence, that Flechier, a long time after, took the whole exordium, with the text, and ſeveral conſiderable paſſages, to embelliſh his juſtly admired funeral oration of viſcount de Turenne.

About the ſame time, Balzac gave numbers and harmony to the French proſe. His letters, it muſt be owned, are penned in a ſtile, that is ſomewhat bombaſt. He writes to the firſt cardinal of Retz: *You have juſt been aſſuming the ſceptre of kings and the livery of roſes.* He writes to a friend from Rome, ſpeaking of perfumed waters: *I have juſt eſcaped by ſwiming in my chamber thro' an ocean of perfumes.* With all theſe faults he charms the ear. Eloquence hath ſo great power over men, that Balzac was admired in his time, for having diſcovered that ſingle part of this neceſſary and much neglected art, which conſiſts in the harmonious choice of words; and even for having exerted this talent improperly on many occaſions.

Voiture gave ſome idea of the ſuperficial graces of that epiſtolary ſtile, which is by no means the beſt, becauſe it aims at nothing higher than pleaſantry and amuſement. His two volumes of letters are the mere paſtime of a wanton imagination, in which we meet not with one that is inſtructive, not one that flows from the heart, that paints the manners of the times, or the characters of men; they are rather an abuſe than exerciſe of wit.

The

The language by degrees began to attain purity, and aſſume a fixed and ſteddy form. This was in great meaſure owing to the labours of the French accademy, but more particularly to Vaugelas. His tranſlation of Quintus Curtius, which appeared in 1646, was the firſt good book written with true purity of ſtile; inſomuch that very few of the expreſſions or phraſes are yet become obſolete.

Olivier Patrue, who followed ſoon after, helped very much to refine the language, and reduce it under a grammatical form; and tho' he did not paſs for a profound lawyer, yet we are indebted to him for juſt diſpoſition, perſpicuity, decorum, and elegance of diſcourſe, talents that were utterly unknown at the bar before his time.

But the performance which contributed moſt to form the taſte of the nation, and gave it a true reliſh of propriety and correctneſs, was the ſmall collection of *maxims written by the duke de la Rochefoucault*. Tho' there be but one truth runs thro' this whole piece, viz. *that ſelf-love is the ſpring of all our actions and determinations*, yet this thought preſents itſelf under ſuch a variety of forms, as never fail to ſtrike with new ſurprize. It is not ſo properly a book itſelf, as a ſet of materials to embelliſh a book. This little collection was much read and admired: it accuſtomed our authors to think, and to comprize their thoughts in a lively, correct, and delicate turn of phraſe. This was a merit utterly unknown to any European writer before him, ſince the revival of letters. But the firſt book of genius, which appeared in proſe, was the collection of *provincial letters* in 1654. Examples of all the various ſpecies of eloquence are to be found in this work.

Tho'

Tho' it has been now written almoſt a hundred years, yet not a ſingle word occurs in it, ſavouring of that viciſſitude, to which living languages are ſo very ſubject. Here then we are to fix the epocha, when our language may be ſaid to have aſſumed a ſettled form. The biſhop of Lucon, ſon of the celebrated Buſſy, told me, that aſking one day the biſhop of Meaux, what work he would covet moſt to be the author of ſuppoſing his own performances ſet aſide, Boſſuet replied, *The provincial Letters.*

The good taſte which reigns from the beginning to the end of this book, and the vigorous ſtrain of the laſt letters, did not however baniſh immediately, that effeminate, diffuſe, incorrect, and ſhattered ſtile, which had ſo long infected almoſt all our writers, preachers and pleaders.

One of the firſt who diſplayed in the pulpit an uniform maſculine eloquence, was father Bourdaloue, towards the year 1668. He was a new light to the age. We have had other pulpit orators ſince, as father Miſſillon, biſhop of Clermont, who have thrown more graces into their ſermons, and embelliſhed them with finer and more maſterly paintings of life and manners; but not one of theſe have obliterated his merit. In his ſtile, more nervous than florid, and which ſeems to deſpiſe the tinſel ornaments of a glowing imagination, he labours rather to convince than inflame, and never amuſes himſelf with the vain ambition of pleaſing.

It were indeed to be wiſhed, that in baniſhing from the pulpit the bad taſte which had ſo long debaſed the diſcourſes of our divines, he had likewiſe baniſhed that ſilly cuſtom of preaching only upon one text. In reality, to ſpeak for hours

hours together upon a citation of a ſingle line, to harraſs one's ſelf in ſquaring the whole diſcourſe to the ſubject of that line, ſeems a practice little becoming the gravity of the miniſterial character. The text by this means becomes a device, or rather enigma, which the diſcourſe is to explain. This practice was not known to the Greeks or Romans: it was in the decline of letters that it firſt came into uſe; nor has it any authority but that of cuſtom.

The method of dividing always into two or three heads, ſubjects that either require no diviſion at all, as morality, or that would require a diviſion more minute and complex, as points of controverſy, is likewiſe an arbitrary cuſtom, which father Bourdaloue found eſtabliſhed before his time, and with which he thought it neceſſary to comply.

Boſſuet, afterwards biſhop of Meaux, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a preacher before Bourdaloue. This famous divine, who at laſt became one of the greateſt ornaments of the age, was originally deſtined to the bar; and had engaged when he was very young, to marry mademoiſelle Deſvieux, a woman of uncommon merit. His talents for divinity, and that ſpecies of eloquence in which he ſo particularly excelled, diſcovered themſelves ſo early, that his parents and friends reſolved to breed him a churchman. Mademoiſelle Deſvieux herſelf determined him to his choice, preferring the glory he muſt acquire as a preacher, to the happineſs of paſſing her life with him. This was what gave riſe to the report of his being married; which tho' long believed among a few, who have a vanity in pretending to be acquainted with the ſecrets of families, had neither

neither truth nor probability to ſupport it. He preached when very young before the king and queen-mother, in 1662, long before father Bourdaloue began to be taken notice of. His diſcourſes, enforced by a noble and affecting manner, were the firſt which had been heard at court that carried any reſemblance of the ſublime, and were ſo well received, that the king ordered a letter to be written in his name to his father, the intendant of Soiſſons, to congratulate him on the riſing reputation of his ſon.

Nevertheleſs, when Father Bourdaloue appeared, monſieur Boſſuet no longer paſſed for the firſt preacher in France. Boſſuet had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his Genius in funeral orations; a ſpecies of eloquence that requires a vigorous imagination, with a certain grandeur and majeſty of diction, reſembling poetry: for from this laſt the orator muſt always borrow ſome aid, tho' with a prudent reſerve, when he aims at the ſublime. The funeral oration of the queen mother, which he ſpoke in 1667, procured him the biſhoprick of Condom: yet this diſcourſe came not up to the reputation of his other performances of this kind; and accordingly was never printed, any more than his ſermons. The funeral elogium on the queen of England, widow of Charles I. which he pronounced in 1669, was univerſally allowed to be a maſter-piece. The ſubjects are happy in theſe pieces of eloquence, in proportion to the misfortunes of the deceaſed perſons whoſe praiſes they celebrate. It is in theſe as in tragedy, where the ſufferings of the principal perſonages, conſtitute what is chiefly intereſting in the performance. The funeral elogium of the ducheſs of Orleans, who was carried off in the flower

ower of her age, and may be ſaid to have died his arms, had the great and uncommon effect melting the whole court into tears. He was bliged to ſtop after theſe words: *O fatal night! night of horror! in which the dreadful news Madame is expiring, Madame is no more, ſhocked like a ſudden clap of thunder*, &c. The audice burſt forth into tears and ſobs, and the orar was interrupted by the ſighs and lamentations all preſent.

The French were the only people who ſucceedin this ſpecies of eloquence. Some time after, e ſame great genius invented another, of a haracter entirely new, which perhaps could ave ſucceeded in no hands but his own. He pplied the orator's art to hiſtory itſelf, which ems to exclude all ornaments of this kind. is diſcourſe upon univerſal hiſtory, compoſed r the uſe of the dauphin, was neither coed after any model, nor has yet had an imitar. If the ſyſtem which he adopts, to recone the chronology of the Jews, with that of her nations, has met with oppoſition from learn men, his ſtile is nevertheleſs admired by all. he world was aſtoniſhed at that majeſtic energy, herewith he deſcribes manners, affairs of ſtate, e riſe and fall of great empires; and at thoſe aſterly ſtrokes of expreſſive truth, which apear in his characters and judgments of nations.

Almoſt all the productions which did ſo much onour to this age, were of a character unknown antiquity. *Telemachus* is of this number. Felelon, the diſciple, the friend of Boſſuet, and who ecame afterwards, in ſpite of himſelf his rival nd enemy, was the author of this wonderful iece, which partakes equally of romance and poetry,

poetry, and ſubſtitutes a meaſured proſe in pla of verſification. One would be tempted to thin that he meant to treat romance as monſieur Meaux had treated hiſtory, by giving it a digni ty, and charms of which it had been judged inc pable; and above all, by extracting from theſe fict ons a moral uſeful to mankind, a moral utter neglected in the fabulous inventions of antiquity It has been commonly believed, that he compoſ this work to ſerve as themes and leſſons of in ſtruction, to the duke of Burgundy, and his bro thers, to whom he was appointed preceptor, a Boſſuet had drawn up his idea of univerſal hiſtor for the uſe of the dauphin. But the marquis d Fenelon his nephew, who inherited the virtu of this great man, and was lately killed at th battle of Rocou, aſſured me of the contrar And indeed it ſeems incongruous to ſuppoſe, th the amours of Calypſo and Eucharis ſhould b the firſt leſſon given by a prieſt to the ſons France.

This work was not compoſed till after his ba niſhment from court, when he received orders t retire to his archbiſhoprick. As he was we read in the ancients, and as nature had bleſſed hi with a lively glowing imagination, he form his ſtile in a taſte peculiar to himſelf, and di tinguiſhed it by a certain copious vein of in vention. I have ſeen his original manuſcript, an there was ſcarce ten blots in the whole. W are told, that one of his domeſticks ſtole a copy and cauſed it to be printed. If ſo, the archbi ſhop is indebted to that infidelity, for all the re putation he has acquired in Europe. But h owes likewiſe his entire diſgrace at court to th ſame cauſe. Moſt people imagined they coul

trac

ace in *Telemachus*, an indirect criticiſm on the vernment of Lewis XIV. Seſoſtris, who tri-nphed with ſo much haughtineſs over vanquiſh-kings, Idomeneus, who introduced luxury to Salentum, and neglected the neceſſary arts making a people happy, were ſuppoſed to be rtraits of the king. His miniſter Louvois ap-ared in the eyes of the diſcontented to be aracteriſed under the name of Proteſilaus, as in, obſtinate, haughty, and an enemy to the eat generals who choſe to ſerve the ſtate rather an the miniſter.

The allies, who in the war of 1688 united ainſt Lewis XIV, and who afterwards, in e war of 1701, ſhook his throne, were over-yed to trace his character in the ſtory of omeneus, whoſe pride rendered him odious all his neighbours. Theſe alluſions made the onger impreſſion, on account of that harmoni-s ſtile, which ſo gently inſinuates moderation d concord. Not only ſtrangers, but the French emſelves, weary of ſo many wars, ſaw with alicious joy, a ſatire of this kind, couched in performance deſigned as a leſſon of virtue. he editions it paſſed thro' were innumerable; I ve ſeen no leſs than fourteen tranſlations of it to Engliſh. Indeed after the death of this mo-rch, ſo dreaded, ſo envied, ſo reſpected by all, d ſo hated by ſome, when malice ceaſed to ke a pleaſure in pretended alluſions, that ſeemed cenſure his conduct, the ſeverer judges treated elemachus with ſome rigour. They blamed e length of the epiſodes, the circumſtantial de-ils, the little connection in the adventures, the o frequent and too uniform deſcriptions of a antry-life: but the book has nevertheleſs been always

always regarded as one of the fineſt monumen of a flouriſhing age.

The *characters* of La Bruiere deſerve likewi to be ranked among the extraordinary productio of this age. Antiquity furniſhes as few exampl of ſuch a work, as of *Telemachus*. A ſtile rapi conciſe, and nervous; expreſſions animated an pictureſque; a uſe of language altogether new yet without offending againſt any of its eſtabliſh ed rules, ſtruck the public at firſt: and the allu ſions which occur in almoſt every page, com pleated its ſucceſs. When La Bruiere ſhowe the work in manuſcript to Maleſieux, this la told him, *that the piece would have many readers and raiſe him up many enemies.* The book ſun ſomewhat in the opinion of men, when that en tire generation, whoſe folly it attacked, was ex tinct: but as it contains things applicable to a times and places, it is more than probable it wi never be abſolutely forgotten.

Telemachus has always remained without imit tors; the *characters* of La Bruiere have produce ſeveral. It is eaſier to draw ſhort pictures o things that ſtrike us, than to write a long work o imagination, that pleaſes and inſtructs at th ſame time. The happy art of introducing eve philoſophy to the acquaintance of the graces, w another new attempt, of which the *plurali of worlds* gave the firſt example; but an examp of a dangerous kind, becauſe the proper dreſs philoſophy conſiſts in order, perſpicuity, and, a bove all, in an inviolable attachment to truth What alone will hinder this ingenious perform ance from being placed by poſterity in the liſt o our claſſic works, is, that it is founded in part o the chimerical vortices of des Cartes.

To theſe productions of a character entirely new, let us add, that memorable one of Bayle, I mean his critical and hiſtorical dictionary. It is the firſt work of the kind, in which a man may learn to think. We muſt indeed abandon to the fate of ordinary books, thoſe articles of this collection, which contain only a detail of minute facts, unworthy either of Bayle, an underſtanding reader, or of poſterity. In placing Bayle here among the writers who did honour to the age of Lewis XIV, notwithſtanding his being a refugee in Holland, I only conform to the decree of the parliament of Thouloufe; which, when it declared his will valid in France, maugre the rigour of the laws, expreſsly ſaid, *that ſuch a man could not be conſidered as a foreigner.*

We ſhall not tire the reader's patience, with an enumeration of all the good books this age produced; we ſhall only ſpeak of thoſe new and ſingular productions, which particularly characteriſe, and ſerve to diſtinguiſh it from other ages. The eloquence of Boſſuet, and Bourdaloue, for inſtance, neither was nor could be the ſame with that of Cicero. If there be any thing in our language reſembling the Roman orator, it is the three pleadings of Peliſon, compoſed in behalf of Fouquet. They are like many of Cicero's orations: a mixture of judicial and ſtate affairs, treated with an art void of oſtentation, and with all the ornaments of an affecting eloquence.

We have had hiſtorians; but not a Livy. The ſtile of the *conſpiracy of Venice* is comparable to that of Saluſt. It is evident the abbe de St. Real had him in his eye; and perhaps he has ſurpaſſed him. All the other compoſitions of which

we

we have been ſpeaking are of a new and original caſt. 'Tis this eſpecially which characteriſes in ſo diſtinguiſhing a manner the age of Lewis XIV: for as to learned men and commentators, the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries produced them in abundance; but true genius had not then begun to ſhew itſelf in any thing.

It may perhaps appear an odd aſſertion, that all thoſe admirable works in proſe would probably never have exiſted, had they not been preceded by poetry! Yet ſuch is the deſtiny of the human mind in all nations: verſe is every where the firſt offspring of genius, and the parent of eloquence.

'Tis the ſame with the people in this reſpect as with particular men. Plato and Cicero began by making verſes. The few good ſtanzas of Malherbe were known by heart, at a time when we could not quote a ſingle ſublime paſſage in proſe; and it is more than probable, that without Peter Corneille, the genius of our proſe-writers would never have been able to diſplay itſelf.

This extraordinary man the more deſerves our admiration, in that when he firſt began to write tragedies, he had none but the very worſt models before him. What ſeemed ſtill further likely to prevent him from ſucceeding, theſe wretched models were in very great eſteem; and, to compleat his misfortune, were favoured by cardinal Richlieu, the protector of men of letters, not of good taſte. He recompenſed ſcribblers of no merit, who are uſually men of a cringing ſpirit; and from a haughtineſs of mind happily applied on other occaſions, he was deſirous to humble thoſe in whom he ſaw (not without ſome degree of vexation) a vein of true genius, which rarely ſtoops

toops to dependence. It is ſeldom that a man of power ſincerely patronizes good artiſts, when he happens to be ſo himſelf.

Corneille was oliged to ſtruggle with the bad aſte of the age, the eſtabliſhed reputation of his ivals, and the partiality of cardinal Richlieu. I hall not repeat here all that has been written in elation to the *Cid*. Suffice it to remark, that the cademy, in their judicious deciſions between Corneille and Scuderi, ſeem to have carried their omplaiſance for the cardinal too far, in condemning the paſſion of *Chimene*. To love the murderer of her father, and yet perſiſt in the deign to revenge that murder, was a maſterly ſtroke n the poet. To have overcome her paſſion, would have been a capital defect in the tragic art, which conſiſts chiefly in painting the ſtruggles of he heart. But art was then utterly unknown to he French writers, our author excepted.

The *Cid* was not the only work of Corneille, hich cardinal Richlieu was deſirous to depreciate. Ve learn from the abbe D'aubignac, that this miiſter diſapproved likewiſe of *Polieuctes*.

The *Cid*, after all, was a beautiful imitation of *uillain de Caſtro*, and, in many places, a tranſlaon. *Cinna*, which followed next, was a maſteriece. An antient domeſtic of the houſe of Condé old me, that the great Condé, at the age of wenty, being preſent at the firſt repreſentation f this tragedy, ſhed tears upon hearing theſe ords of Auguſtus :

Je ſuis maitre de moi, comme de l' univers;
Je le ſuis, je veuz l'etre. O ſiecles! O memoire!
Conſervez a jamais ma nouvelle victoire.
Je triomphe aujourd' hui du plus juſte courroux,

De qui le ſouvenir puiſſe aller juſqu' a vous.
Soions Amis, Cinna ; c'eſt moi qui t'en convie.

Theſe were indeed the tears of a hero: th great Corneille forcing tears of admiration fro the great Condé, forms a very memorable epoch in the hiſtory of human genius.

The great number of indifferent pieces he pub liſhed afterwards, did not hinder the nation fro regarding him as a writer of the firſt claſs; an more than the conſiderable faults imputed to Ho mer, have prevented his paſſing for the ſublime poet of antiquity. It is the privilege of tru genius, and above all of that genius which i original, to commit great faults with impu nity.

We owe Corneille to the force of his own ge nius alone: but Lewis XIV, Colbert, Sophocl and Euripides, all contributed to the forming Racine. An ode which he compoſed at the ag of eighteen, on occaſion of the king's marriag procured him a preſent he did not expect, and de termined him to the purſuit of poetry. His re putation hath increaſed with time, and that o Corneille is upon the decline. The reaſon ſeem to be, that Racine, in all his works after hi *Alexander*, is ever elegant, correct, natural; an ſpeaks to the heart: whereas the other is ofte deficient in all theſe reſpects. Racine great ſurpaſſed both the Greeks and Corneille in th knowledge of the paſſions, and carried the ha mony of verſification, and the graces of poet diction, to the higheſt point of perfection the were capable of. Theſe two celebrated genius taught the nation to think, to feel, and to expre themſelves: and their audience, inſtructed on

y them, became at laſt ſevere judges, able to cri-
icize even the performances of their maſters.

In the time of cardinal Richlieu, there were
ut very few perſons in France capable of diſcern-
ng the defects of the *Cid*; and in 1702, when
thaliah, the maſter-piece of the theatre, was re-
reſented at the houſe of the ducheſs of Burgun-
y, the courtiers had confidence enough in their
wn judgment to condemn that admirable tra-
edy. Time has done the author juſtice; but
at great man did not live to ſee the ſucceſs of
is his capital performance. A numerous party
ways affected to decry Racine, and refuſe him
e praiſe due to his merit. Madam de Sevigné,
e firſt perſon of her age for the epiſtolary ſtile,
nd the talent of relating trifles with gracefulneſs
nd propriety, never believed that Racine would
rive at any laſting fame. She judged of him
s of coffee, with regard to the virtues of which
e was wont to ſay, the public would ſoon be
deceived. It requires time to bring the repu-
tion of an author to maturity.

The ſingular deſtiny of this age rendered Mo-
ere contemporary with Corneille and Racine. It
not true that Moliere, when he firſt began to
rite, found the ſtage utterly deſtitute of good
medies. Corneille himſelf had given the
Menteur, a piece of character and intrigue, after
e manner of the Spaniſh theatre; and only
wo of Moliere's beſt plays had appeared, when
e public was entertained with the *Coquet-
Mother* of Quinaut; a piece not only of charac-
r and intrigue, but even the model of intrigue
the comic way. It was acted in 1664; and
the firſt comedy which paints that ſpecies of
en, afterwards called *Marquiſes*. Moſt of the

great lords of the court of Lewis XIV, endeavoured to reſemble their maſter in that air of dignity and grandeur, for which he was ſo remarkable: thoſe of inferior rank copied their ſuperiors; and many of them puſhed this conceited air, and predominant affectation of dignity, to the moſt ridiculous extreme.

This humour long prevailed at court. Molier attacked it often; and contributed to free the public from theſe important ſubalterns, as well as from the affectation of prudes, the pedantry of female learning, and the unintelligible jargon of lawyers and phyſicians. Molicre was, if one may uſe the expreſſion, a legiſlator of politeneſs to the world. I ſpeak here only of the ſervice he did to the age he lived in; his other merit are ſufficiently known.

We may ſurely pronounce it a period worthy the attention of future ages, when the heroes of Corneille and Racine; the perſonated characters of Moliere; the compoſitions of Lully, in a taſte altogether new to the nation; and (ſince we are here ſpeaking only of the arts) the eloquence of Boſſuet and Bourdaloue, were taken notice of by Lewis XIV; by the ducheſs of Orleans, ſo celebrated for her fine taſte; by a Condé, a Turenne, a Colbert, and that crowd of illuſtrious men which then adorned the court. We muſt never again expect to ſee the time, when a duke de Rochefoucault, author of the *Maxims*, after enjoying the converſation of a Paſcal and an Arnauld, ſhall repair to the theatre of Corneille.

Deſpreaux raiſed himſelf to the rank of the great men; not by his firſt ſatires, for poſterity are not likely to be much entertained with his deſcription of the *confuſion and buſtle of Paris*,

he names of *Caſſaigne* and *Cotin*; but by the in-
ructions contained in his excellent epiſtles; and,
bove all, in his art of poetry, where even Cor-
eille might have found many uſeful leſſons.

La Fontaine, leſs chaſte in his ſtile, leſs cor-
ect in his diction, but inimitable in his ſimpli-
ity, and the graces peculiar to his manner of
riting, by the artleſs eloquence of his narra-
ions, nearly equalled the reputation of theſe
ublime geniuſes.

Quinaut, in a manner of writing altogether
ew, and the more difficult for its ſeeming eaſi-
eſs, deſerves likewiſe a place among theſe illuſ-
rious cotemporaries. It is well known, with
ow little juſtice Boileau endeavoured to depre-
iate this poet. Nor ought we to diſſemble, that
oileau, tho' admirable in other reſpects, had
ever learned to ſacrifice to the graces. It was
n vain that he ſought all his life to humble a man,
hoſe acquaintance with them was his diſtin-
uiſhing excellence. The trueſt elogium of a
oet is, when his verſes are thought worthy the
gard of poſterity. This has happened to whole
cenes of Quinaut; an advantage which no Ita-
an opera ever yet attained. The French muſic
as continued in a ſtate of ſimplicity, which is
ot to the taſte of any nation. But the artleſs
nd inimitable ſtrokes of nature, which frequent-
y appear with ſo many charms in Quinaut, ſtill
leaſe, in all parts of Europe, thoſe who under-
and our language, and are poſſeſſed of a refi-
ed taſte. Did antiquity furniſh ſuch a poem as
rmida, with what veneration would it be re-
eived? But Quinaut is a modern.

All theſe great men were known and patro-
ized by Lewis XIV, except La Fontaine. His

extreme ſimplicity, which proceeded even to a degree of ſelf-forgetfulneſs, kept him at a diſtance from court, where he had no ambition to appear. But his merit did not paſs unobſerved by the duke of Burgundy; and he received, in his old age, ſeveral favours from that prince. He was, with all his elegance of genius, of a mind no leſs artleſs than the heroes of his own fables. Father Puget thinks it no ſmall merit to have treated this man, ſo diſtinguiſhed by the innocence of his manners, as if he had had to do with a Brinvilliers or a Voiſin. His tales are for the moſt part thoſe of Poggius, Arioſto, or the queen of Navarre. Looſe ideas may be dangerous, but it is not agreeable ſallies of wit and a lively imagination that inſpire them. We may apply to Fontaine his own admirable fable of *the animals ſick of the plague*, where the ſeveral parties produce their accuſations: the lions, the wolves, and the bears are pardoned every thing; and an innocent creature is ſacrificed, for having eat a little graſs.

In the ſchool of theſe geniuſes, deſtined to delight and inſtruct the ages to come, a number of agreeable writers was formed, who have left behind them a great variety of elegant pieces, that ſerve to amuſe people of taſte; juſt as we have had many painters whoſe performances pleaſe, tho' they are far from equalling the reputation of Pouſſin, Le Suer, or Le Brun.

But towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV, there were two men that raiſed themſelves above the rank of ordinary writers, and acquired a very conſiderable reputation: the one, La Motte Hondart, of a ſolid and comprehenſive, rather than of a ſublime genius. He wrote in proſe with delicacy

delicacy and method; but his poetry is often deſtitute of fire and elegance, and ſometimes too of that exactneſs, which is never to be diſpenſed with but in favour of the ſublime. His firſt lyric eſſays were rather beautiful ſtanzas than finiſhed odes; and he even loſt much of his ſpirit in the ſequel: but a number of elegant pieces of his which ſtill remain, will always hinder him from paſſing for an author of the loweſt claſs. He is an example to prove, that in works of genius a performance may have merit, though it comes not up to the utmoſt perfection of good writing.

The other was Rouſſeau, inferior to the former in genius, and the art and eaſe of compoſition; but who far excelled him in the talent of verſification. His odes, it is true, did not appear till after thoſe of La Motte; but they are more beautiful, more diverſified, and abound more with images. In his hymns, he equals the harmony and devotion obſervable in the ſpiritual ſongs of Racine. His epigrams are finiſhed with greater care than thoſe of Marot. He was not ſo ſucceſsful in operas, which require ſenſibility; nor in comedies, which cannot ſucceed without gaiety. In both theſe he was deficient; and therefore failed in both, as being foreign to his genius.

He would have quite corrupted the French tongue, had the antiquated ſtile of Marot, which he affected to introduce into his ſerious compoſitions, been imitated by ſucceeding writers. But happily that mixture of the purity of our tongue, with the ruſt of what was ſpoken about two hundred years before, was a mode that did not obtain long. Some of his epiſtles are imitations of Boileau; but the conſtraint is manifeſt, and he

is not clear in his conceptions, nor is the nature of the truths on which he grounds his reflections obvious: and *nothing can be beautiful but what is true.*

He degenerated very much in foreign countries: Whether it was, that age and misfortune had impaired his genius, or that his principal merit conſiſting in a happy choice of words, and delicate turns of expreſſion, (a talent of greater conſequence, and not ſo common as moſt people imagine) he had not abroad the ſame advantages in this reſpect. It may be conſidered as one of the evils attending his baniſhment from his native country, that he was no longer under the eye of ſevere critics.

His long misfortunes had their ſource in an ungovernable ſelf-love, in which jealouſy and animoſity were predominant. His example ought to ſerve as a ſtriking leſſon to men of genius and talents; but we only conſider him here as a writer, whoſe performances have done no ſmall honour to letters.

Very few eminent geniuſes have ariſen ſince the flouriſhing days of theſe illuſtrious artiſts; and about the time of the death of Lewis XIV, nature ſeemed to repoſe herſelf.

The way was difficult at the beginning of this age, becauſe it had been trod by none; it is become ſo now, becauſe ſuch multitudes have gone before us. The great men of the preceding century have taught us to think and ſpeak; and have told us what we did not know before. We that come after them can find but little to ſay that is new. In ſhort, the great number of finiſhed pieces they gave, has occaſioned a kind of

of ſatiety in the literary world: and the paſt age having been a preceptor to the preſent, it is become ſo eaſy to write common things, that we have been oppreſſed with an inundation of frivolous books; which renders it now no leſs neceſſary to give ſome little check to literature, than it was in the beginning of the ſeventeenth century to promote and encourage it.

CHAP. XXX.

Sequel of ARTS.

WITH regard to thoſe arts which do not depend abſolutely upon the mind, as muſic, painting, ſculpture, and architecture, they had made but ſmall progreſs in France before the time which we call *the age of Lewis* XIV. Muſic was then only in its infancy: a few ſongs, with ſome airs for the violin, the guitar, and the theorbo, moſt of them compoſed in Spain, were all we knew of the art. Lully aſtoniſhed the world by his exquiſite taſte and ſkill. He was the firſt in France who regulated muſic, and introduced into it various notes and graces. His compoſitions, which at preſent appear ſo ſimple and eaſy, could not be executed at firſt without ſome difficulty. There are a thouſand perſons in France now, who underſtand muſic, for one that underſtood it in the time of Lewis XIII; and the art, by degrees, has been brought to perfection. There is not a conſiderable city in the kingdom without its public concerts; whereas even Paris itſelf had none at that time. Four and twenty violins belonging to the king was all the muſic we then had in France.

The various parts of knowledge appertaining to muſic, and the arts depending upon it, made ſuch a great progreſs, that towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIV, the art of pricking down dances was invented; ſo that now it may be truly ſaid, we dance by book.

We had very good architects under the regency of Mary of Medicis. That princeſs, to do honour to her own country, and embelliſh ours, built the palace of Luxembourg, in the Tuſcan taſte. The ſame Deſbroſſes, to whom we are indebted for the portal of St. Gervas, was likewiſe the architect of that queen's palace, which ſhe never enjoyed. Cardinal Richlieu, who equalled her in greatneſs of ſoul, did not equal her in taſte. The cardinal palace, which is now the palace royal, is a proof of this. We conceived the greateſt expectations, when we beheld the elevation of that beautiful front of the Louvre, which at preſent we ſo much regret to ſee unfiniſhed. A great number of citizens have built magnificent houſes; but they are more diſtinguiſhed by their interior elegance, than by the taſte diſplayed in their exterior decorations; and are rather deſigned to gratify private luxury, than to be a public ornament to the city.

Colbert, the Mecenas of all the arts, founded an academy of architecture in 1671. It is not ſufficient to have architects equal to Vitruvius, there muſt alſo be an Auguſtus to employ them.

The municipal magiſtrates ſhould alſo be men of public ſpirit, and ſome taſte. Two or three mayors like the preſident Turgot, would have prevented the reproaches ſo juſtly caſt upon the city of Paris, for the ill ſituation, and ſtill worſe

worſe taſte of the town-houſe: for the ſmallneſs and irregularity of the public ſquares, famous only for executions and bonfires; for the narrowneſs of the ſtreets in the moſt frequented quarters of the city; and for thoſe remains of barbarity, which ſtill ſubſiſt amidſt all our grandeur, and in the very boſom of the arts.

Painting began with *Pouſſin*, under Lewis XIII: for our painters before his time are not worthy of notice, tho' ſome of them might be tolerable. But from that period, we have never been without eminent artiſts; not indeed in that abundance to which Italy owes a conſiderable ſhare of its wealth: but to ſay nothing of a *Le Sueur*, who had no other maſter than himſelf, or a *Le Brun*, who equalled the Italians themſelves in deſign and compoſition; we can boaſt of upwards of thirty painters, who have left pieces behind them worthy the attention and curioſity of men of taſte. Foreigners begin to purchaſe them of us. I have ſeen in the palace of a great king, galleries and apartments adorned with pictures from our country, whoſe merit we, perhaps, were not ſufficiently apprized of. I have ſeen twelve thouſand livres refuſed in France for a picture of *Santerre*. The moſt ſtupendous painting now in Europe, is the cieling done by *Le Maine* at Verſailles; and perhaps it is alſo one of the moſt beautiful. We have a painter at preſent in France, whom even foreigners allow to be the firſt in Europe.

Colbert not only gave the academy of painting its preſent form, but in 1667, he perſuaded Lewis XIV to eſtabliſh one at Rome. A palace was bought in that metropolis for lodging the director.

rector. Scholars repair thither to ſtudy, who have frequently gained the annual prizes in the academy at Paris. They are ſent and maintained at the king's expence, and employed chiefly in deſigning after antiques, or ſtudying the works of Raphael and Michael Angelo. It is a noble homage, which the deſire of imitation induces us to pay to antient and modern Rome; and this homage ſtill continues; tho' the immenſe collections of italian pictures made by the king and the duke of Orleans, and the maſterpieces of ſculpture produced in our own country, have ſet us above the neceſſity of having recourſe to foreign maſters for aſſiſtance.

But it is in ſculpture chiefly that we have excelled, and the art of caſting coloſſal equeſtrian figures.

Should ſome future diſtant period diſcover, buried under heaps of ruins, ſuch maſter-pieces of art as the baths of Apollo, expoſed to all the injuries of the weather in the groves of Verſailles; the tomb of cardinal Richlieu in the chapel of the Sorbonne, too little known to the public; the equeſtrian ſtatue of Lewis XV made at Paris to adorn Bordeaux; the Mercury ſent by this prince as a preſent to the king of Pruſſia, and ſo many other works of the ſame kind, which are not inferior: theſe productions of the preſent age might, perhaps, be compared with the moſt finiſhed remains of antient Greece.

In our medals we have equalled the antients. Varin was the firſt who raiſed this art above the degree of mediocrity, towards the end of the reign of Lewis XIII. The number and variety of theſe which we ſee ranged in hiſtorical order,

order, in that part of the gallery of the Louvre appropriated to the artiſts, is amazing: there are at leaſt two millions, the greateſt part of which are maſter-pieces in their kind.

The art of engraving on precious ſtones has likewiſe been very ſucceſsfully cultivated among us. That of multiplying pictures, of perpetuating them by means of copper-plates, and of tranſmitting with eaſe to poſterity all the various appearances in nature and art, was but very imperfectly known in France before this age. It is one of the moſt uſeful and agreeable of human arts. We owe the invention of it to the Florentines, among whom it firſt appeared about the middle of the fifteenth century; but it has received its greateſt improvements in France, which boaſts an infinite number of the moſt finiſhed pieces in this kind. The king's collections of prints have often been conſidered as the moſt magnificent of his preſents to foreign ambaſſadors. Chaſing in gold and ſilver, which equally requires invention and taſte, has been carried to the utmoſt perfection of which the hand of man is capable.

Having thus run thro' all the arts which contribute to the delight of particular perſons, and the glory of the ſtate, there ſtill remains one to be taken notice of, which, as it is by far the moſt uſeful, ſo is it that in which the French excel all the nations of the world: I mean ſurgery, whoſe progreſs during this period was ſo rapid, and ſo celebrated, that people came to Paris from all parts of Europe, for the performance of thoſe cures and operations that required an uncommon dexterity. Beſides that good ſurgeons were ſcarce any where to be met with but in

in France, it was in this country alone that the inſtruments neceſſary in the art were made in perfection. From hence were all neighbouring nations ſupplied: and I remember to have been told by Mr. *Cheſelden*, a celebrated Engliſh ſurgeon, that he was the firſt who employed people to make chirurgical inſtruments at London, about the year 1715. Phyſic, which ſerves to perfect ſurgery, did not make greater advances in France than in England, and in Holland under the famous *Boerhaave:* but we may ſay of it as of philoſophy: it attained to perfection among us by the uſe we made of the diſcoveries of others.

Thus have I given a general and faithful deſcription of the progreſs of learning and arts during this age, which began under cardinal Richlieu, and ended with our times. It will be difficult to ſurpaſs it: but if this ſhould ever happen, it will ſtill be the model to thoſe more fortunate ages to which it may give birth.

CHAP. XXXI.

Ecclesiastical Affairs: Memorable Disputes.

OF the three orders which compoſe the ſtate, the leaſt numerous, which is the church, is that which has always exacted from the ſovereign, a conduct mixed with the higheſt delicacy and art. To preſerve at the ſame time a good Underſtanding with the ſee of Rome, and maintain the liberties of the Gallican, which are no other than thoſe of the ancient church: to know how to make the biſhops obey as ſubjects,

jects, without incroaching upon the rights of the epiſcopal character; to ſubject them to the civil power in many things, and leave them judges in others; to make them contribute to the neceſſities of the ſtate, without violating their privileges: all this requires a mixture of reſolution and addreſs, which Lewis XIV could always aſſume at pleaſure.

The clergy of France was, by degrees, brought into a ſtate of order and decency, from which the civil wars, and the licenticuſneſs of the times, had occaſioned it to deviate very much. The king would no longer permit laymen to hold benefices *in commendam*, or ſuch as were not in prieſt's orders, to poſſeſs biſhopricks; like cardinal Mazarin, who, tho' not even a ſub-deacon, had been inveſted with the biſhoprick of Metz; and the duke de Vernеuil, who had likewiſe held it, tho' a layman.

The ſum paid to the king by the clergy of France, and the conquered countries, amounted one year with another * to about two million and five hundred thouſand livres; and ſince the increaſe of the numerical value of the ſpecies, they have aided the government with about four millions yearly, under the name of tenths, extraordinary ſubſidies, and free gifts. This title and privilege of *free gift* is ſtill preſerved, and is a remnant of that antient cuſtom, according to which all the lords of fiefs uſed to contribute by voluntary donations to our kings, in the exigencies of the ſtate. The biſhops and abbots, being lords of fiefs, were only bound to furniſh their proportion of troops, in the times of feudal anarchy. The kings then, like other lords, lived upon

* See the ſtate of France, and Puffendorf.

on the revenues of their own domains. In the univerſal change that followed, the clergy ſtill continued on their former footing, and retained the cuſtom of aiding the ſtate by free gifts.

To this antient cuſtom, which a body that aſſembles frequently eaſily preſerves, and which one that never aſſembles muſt neceſſarily loſe, we are to join the immunity claimed by the church, and the maxim, that *its revenues are the revenues of the poor:* not that it pretends to a total exemption from the demands of the ſtate, of which it holds every thing; for the public, when its neceſſities are urgent, ſtands in the firſt rank of the poor. But it pleads the privilege of aiding only by voluntary ſupplies; and Lewis XIV always exacted theſe ſupplies in ſuch a manner, as to run no hazard of meeting with a refuſal.

It is matter of aſtoniſhment to all Europe, as well as to France, that the Clergy ſhould pay ſo little, ſeeing they are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a third of the revenue of the whole kingdom. Was this the caſe, it is paſt diſpute that they ought to bear likewiſe a third of the public charge, which one year with another would come to near thirty millions, independent of the taxes on periſhable commodities, which they pay in common with the reſt of the ſubjects. But error and prejudice prevail in almoſt every thing. The church is ſuppoſed to poſſeſs a third of the whole annual revenue of the kingdom; juſt as we ſay at random, that Paris contains a million of inhabitants. Were we but to take the trouble of computing the revenues of the biſhopricks, it would appear by the leaſes granted about fifty years ago, that their whole annual amount at that time, was not ſuppoſed to exceed four millions; and the

the commendatory abbies were rated at four million and five hundred thouſand livres. It is true, the eſtimation of the leaſes was about a third below the real value; and if to this we add the increaſe of the landed revenue ſince, the total ſum of the rents of all the conſiſtorial benefices will make about ſixteen millions: but we ought to remember, that a conſiderable part of this ſum goes yearly to Rome, and is ſo much abſolutely loſt to the nation. It muſt be allowed a great inſtance of liberality in the king towards the holy ſee, to ſuffer it to plunder the ſtate of more than four hundred thouſand marks of ſilver in the ſpace of a century; which in time could not fail to impoveriſh the kingdom, did not commerce abundantly repair the loſs.

To theſe benefices which pay annates to Rome, we muſt join the curacies, convents, collegiate churches, and all the other eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments in the kingdom. If we compute them at fifty millions yearly upon the whole, I believe we ſhall come pretty near the truth.

Thoſe who have examined this matter with the utmoſt ſeverity and attention, have not been able to extend the revenues of the whole Gallican church, ſecular and regular, beyond fourſcore thouſand livres. The ſum is far from being exorbitant, when we conſider it as deſtined to ſupport ninety thouſand monks and nuns, and about an hundred and ſixty thouſand eccleſiaſtics, which was the number in 1700. If we divide it equally, it comes nearly to three hundred livres a head. There are conventual monks who do not coſt their monaſtery two hundred livres a year: there are regular abbots, whoſe income exceeds two hundred thouſand livres. It is this enormous

mous disproportion that occasions so many complaints and murmurs. We are concerned for a country curate, whose laborious discharge of the duties of his profession, entitles him only to a scanty income of three, four, or five hundred livres, while a lazy monk, not the less lazy for being made an abbot, enjoys an immense fortune, and exacts pompous titles from those under his jurisdiction. These abuses are much more glaring in Flanders, in Spain, and especially in the Catholic circles of Germany, where we sometimes meet with monks that are princes.

Abuses, by degrees, pass into laws in almost all countries. Was a number of the wisest men to assemble, with design to compose a body of laws, where is the state whose form would remain entirely the same? The clergy of France always pursue a very preposterus method, when they aid the king with a free gift of several millions, for a certain term of years: they borrow the money, and after paying interest for some time, reimburse the capital to the creditors, which is attended with a double charge. It would be more for their own and the public advantage, as well as more agreeable to reason, to aid the state by contributions proportioned to the value of their several benefices. But men can never be brought to part with antient forms. It is from the same spirit, that the clergy, tho' they assemble every five years, yet have never had any public hall, nor other accommodations proper for such a body. It is apparent, however, that they might, even with less expence to themselves, have both assisted the king more effectually, and have built a palace in Paris which would

would have been an additional ornament to that capital.

The maxims of the French clergy, in the minority of Lewis XIV, were not entirely purged from that mixture of prejudice, which had been introduced during the time of the league. We find in the firſt years of Lewis XIII, and in the laſt aſſembly of the ſtates in 1614, that the moſt numerous party of the nation, known by the name of the third eſtate, and which indeed conſtitutes the main body of the ſtate, demanded in vain, tho' ſeconded by the parliament, that it ſhould be eſtabliſhed as a fundamental law; "That no ſpiritual power can deprive kings of "their ſacred rights, which they hold of God "alone, and that it is high treaſon to teach the "doctrine of depoſing and killing kings." This was in expreſs terms the demand of the nation, at a time when the recent murder of Henry IV ſeemed to render ſuch a law indiſpenſably neceſſary. And yet a French biſhop, born within the kingdom, the cardinal du Perron, violently oppoſed this propoſition, under pretence that it did not belong to the third eſtate to propoſe laws which had any relation to the affairs of the church. Why then did not he himſelf, in conjunction with the clergy, do what was propoſed by the third eſtate? But ſo far was he from any ſuch deſign, that he even ſaid publickly on that occaſion; "That the power of the pope was "plenary and without controul, direct in ſpiri-"tuals, indirect in temporals, and that he was "commiſſioned by the Clergy to declare, that "they would excommunicate ſuch as ſhould "dare to maintain, that the pope had not a pow-"er to depoſe kings." The nobility was gain-

ed

ed over, and the third eſtate was obliged to deſiſt from their demand. The parliament renewed their antient decrees, declaring the crown independent, and the perſon of the king ſacred. The eccleſiaſtical chamber, allowing the king's perſon to be ſacred, ſtill perſiſted in maintaining that the crown was dependent. The ſame ſpirit actuated them on this occaſion, which had before produced the depoſition of Lewis the debonnaire. This ſpirit prevailed to ſuch a degree, that the court, unable to ſtruggle with it any longer, was obliged to impriſon the printer, who had publiſhed the arret of the parliament, under the title of *the fundamental law*. This ſtep, it was pretended, was neceſſary, for the ſake of public peace: but it was in effect to puniſh thoſe who furniſhed the crown with defenſive arms. A very different conduct was purſued by the court of Vienna, and for a reaſon obvious enough; France, at that time, was afraid of the pope, and the pope dreaded the power of the houſe of Auſtria.

The cauſe which was given up at this time by the court of France, was in reality ſo much the cauſe of all kings, that James I, king of England, wrote a book againſt cardinal Perron, which is by far the beſt of that monarch's works. It was alſo the cauſe of the people, whoſe repoſe requires, that their ſovereigns be independent of any foreign power. By degrees reaſon has prevailed; and Lewis XIV, ſupported by the weight of his authority, found no great difficulty in making the voice of that reaſon be heard.

Antonio Perez had recommended three things particularly to Henry IV. *Roma, Conſejo, Pielago.* Lewis XIV had attained to ſuch a ſuperiority

rity in the two laſt, that he had no occaſion for the firſt. He was particularly attentive to preſerve the right of appealing to the parliament, from the decrees of eccleſiaſtical courts, in all caſes where theſe decrees affected the prerogative royal. The clergy ſometimes complained of this proceeding, and ſometimes commended it. For if on one ſide theſe appeals ſupported the national privileges againſt the epiſcopal authority, on the other, they ſtrengthened that very authority, by maintaining the privileges of the Gallican church againſt the pretenſions of the court of Rome: inſomuch that the biſhops have at different times conſidered the parliament as their enemies and protectors; and the government was always careful to prevent theſe religious quarrels from running beyond the proper bounds on either ſide. It is with the power of different orders and companies in a ſtate, as with the various intereſt of commercial cities; the legiſlature muſt take care to hold the balance even.

The moſt important and delicate affair of this kind, was that of the *regale*. It is a right belonging to the kings of France, to enjoy the revenues of biſhopricks, and to preſent to the benefices dependent thereon, during the vacancy of the ſees. This prerogative is peculiar to the kings of France; but every ſtate has its previleges. The kings of Portugal are entituled to a third of the revenues of the biſhopricks in their dominions. The emperor has the right of firſt fruits; and claims the privilege of diſpoſing of all benefices, the firſt time they become vacant after his acceſſion. The kings of Naples and Sicily, enjoy ſtill more extenſive prerogatives. Thoſe claimed by the court of Rome are for the moſt

part founded in cuſtom, rather than in primitive authentic titles.

The kings of the Merovingian race conferred biſhopricks and livings by their own ſole authority. It ſeemed reaſonable that they ſhould be indulged in the inconſiderable privilege, of enjoying the revenue, and preſenting to the vacant benefices of a ſee, during the ſhort ſpace that intervenes between the death of the biſhop, and the regiſtring the oath of fidelity taken by his ſucceſſor. The biſhops of ſeveral cities reunited to the crown under the third race, could not be prevailed with to acknowledge this right, which their former lords had found themſelves too weak to maintain. The popes declared for the biſhops; and the pretenſions of the ſeveral parties always remained obſcure. In 1608, under Henry IV, the parliament declared the *regale* to extend over the whole kingdom. The clergy murmured; and the king, who found it for his intereſt to keep fair with the biſhops and the court of Rome, brought the affair before the council of ſtate, but without any intention to decide it.

The cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin iſſued ſeveral orders of council, by which the biſhops who pretended to be exempt from the *regale*, were obliged to ſhew upon what they grounded their titles. The affair ſtill remained undetermined in 1673; and the king durſt not at that time confer a ſingle benefice, in almoſt any diocеſe beyond the Loire, during the vacancy of the ſee.

At laſt, in 1673, the chancellor Michel le Tellier iſſued an edict, by which all the biſhopricks of the kingdom were declared ſubject to the *regale*. Two biſhops, who unfortunately were

were the two moſt virtuous men of the nation, obſtinately refuſed to comply with the edict. Theſe were Pavillon biſhop of Alet, and Caulet biſhop of Pamiers. They defended themſelves at firſt with very plauſible reaſons; to which others no leſs ſtrong were oppoſed. When men of underſtanding diſpute long upon any point, it is more than probable, that the queſtion is not clear. This was indeed very obſcure: but it was evident, that neither religion nor good order were concerned to hinder a king from doing that in two dioceſes, which he did in all the reſt. Meantime the two biſhops continued inflexible: neither of them had cauſed his oath of fidelity to be regiſter'd; and the king thought himſelf intitled to diſpoſe of all the vacant benefices in their ſees.

The two biſhops excommunicated thoſe who were preſented in virtue of the *regale*. Both had been ſuſpected of Janſeniſm, and on that occaſion found Innocent X their enemy; but when they declared in oppoſition to the pretenſions of the king, Innocent XI immediately eſpouſed their cauſe. This pope, virtuous and obſtinate like themſelves, engaged warmly in the quarrel.

The king at firſt contented himſelf with baniſhing the principal officers belonging to the biſhops. He diſcovered greater moderation than two men, who affected a more than ordinary reputation of ſanctity. The biſhop of Alet was ſuffered to die in peace, out of regard to his great age. The biſhop of Pamiers ſtill reſiſted, nor could be ſhaken by any remonſtrances or menaces. He redoubled his excommunications, and perſiſted in refuſing to regiſter his oath of fidelity, from a perſuaſion, that by ſuch an oath, he to much ſubjected the church to the monarchy. The king

king ſeized his temporalities. The pope and the Janſeniſts ſo indemnified his loſs, that he was rather a gainer by being deprived of his revenues. He died in 1680, fully convinced that he had ſupported the cauſe of God againſt the king. His death did not put an end to the quarrel: the canons named by the king came to take poſſeſſion; the monks, who pretended to be at the ſame time canons and grand-vicars, obliged them to quit the church, and excommunicated them. Montpeſat archbiſhop of Toulouſe, the metropolitan, to whom it of right belonged to take cogniſance of the affair, in vain gave ſentence againſt theſe pretended grand-vicars. They appealed to Rome, in conſequence of a cuſtom of referring to that court eccleſiaſtical cauſes determined by the archbiſhops of France, a cuſtom directly contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church: but all human governments are made up of contradictions. The parliament iſſued decrees. A monk named Cerle, who was one of theſe grand-vicars, had the inſolence to repeal not only the ſentence of the metropolitan, but the decrees of the parliament. This laſt tribunal condemned him to be drawn upon a ſledge, and beheaded for contumacy. He was executed in effigy: but nothing diſmayed by all this appearance of ſeverity, he inſulted from the place of his retreat both the archbiſhop and the king. The pope openly ſupported him: nay he did ſtill more; perſuaded, like the biſhop of Pamiers, that the right of the *regale* is an abuſe in the church, and that the king had no title to confer vacant livings in the dioceſe, he reverſed the ordonnances of the archbiſhop of Toulouſe, and excommunicated the

he new grand-vicars nominated by that prelate, with all that enjoyed benefices in virtue of the *egale*, or favoured the pretenſions of perſons ſo nducted.

The king convened an aſſembly of the clergy, onſiſting of thirty five biſhops, and a like num-er of deputies of the ſecond order. The Janſe-iſts, for the firſt time, ſided with the pope; and he pope, now at variance with the king, favour-d the Janſeniſts, tho' he was far from being cor-ially their friend. He made a merit of oppoſing is monarch upon all occaſions; and ſome time ter, in 1689, joined with the allies againſt king mes, for no other reaſon but becauſe Lewis IV. had declared himſelf his protector; inſo-uch that it was a common ſaying at that time, at to put a final period to the troubles which ſturbed Europe and the church, it was neceſſa-for king James to turn Huguenot, and the pe to become a catholick.

Meantime the aſſembly of the clergy in 1681, animouſly declared for the king. The public as ſtill engaged by another quarrel, which tho' conſiderable in the beginning, grew by degrees be very important. The election to a priory the ſuburbs of Paris ſet the king and the pope variance. The Roman pontiff had repealed ordonnance of the archbiſhop of Paris, and nulled his nomination to that priory. The liament appealed againſt this as an abuſe of papal authority. The pope, by a bull, or-red the inquiſition to burn the parliament's cree; and the parliament enjoined the ſup-eſſion of the bull. Theſe conteſts have for veral ages, been the neceſſary conſequence of at ancient mixture of the natural liberty which

every country claims of governing within itſel
and ſubmiſſion to a foreign power.

The aſſembly of the clergy took a courſe
which ſhows that men of prudence can yie
with dignity to their ſovereign, without the inte
vention of any other power. They conſente
that the right of the *regale* ſhould extend over th
whole kingdom; but this conſent was ſo wor
ed, as to ſeem rather a conceſſion on the pa
of the clergy, who dropped their pretenſions o
of regard to their protector, than a form
avowal of any abſolute right in the crown.

The aſſembly excuſed themſelves to the po
by a letter, in which there is a paſſage, whi
ought to ſerve as an eternal and invariable ru
of conduct in all diſputes of this kind: *It is b
ter* (ſay they) *to ſacrifice a part of ones rights, th
by purſuing them too obſtinately, to endanger the pu
lic peace.* The king, the Gallican church, a
the parliament were ſatisfied. The Janſeni
wrote ſome libels: the pope continued inflex
ble. He reverſed by a brief all the reſolutio
of the aſſembly, and wrote to the biſhops
retract their conceſſions. Here was grou
enough to ſeparate for ever the church of Fran
from that of Rome. There had been ſome ta
under the cardinals Richlieu and Mazarin,
erecting a patriarch. It was the ardent deſire
all the magiſtrates, that France ſhould no long
pay *annats* to Rome; that the pope ſhould n
have the privilege of preſenting to the benefic
of Bretagne during ſix months of the year; a
that the biſhops of France ſhould no longer ſi
themſelves biſhops *by the permiſſion of the holy ſ*
Had the king been inclined to take this ſtep, t
leaſt intimation of his pleaſure was ſufficie

e was maſter of the voices in the aſſembly of e clergy. The nation was ripe for ſuch a re-olution, and would not have failed to declare r him. Rome would have loſt all by the in-exibility of a virtuous pope, who alone, of all e pontiffs of that age, knew not how to ac-mmodate himſelf to conjunctures. But there e certain antient boundaries, which cannot be ſſed without cauſing violent ſhocks. It re-ired ſtronger ties of intereſt, more violent paſ-ns, and greater perturbations in the minds of en, to break all at once with Rome; nor uld ſuch a ſeparation have been eaſily effected, ile the miniſtry perſiſted in the deſign of ex-pating Calviniſm. It was even looked upon a bold ſtep, to publiſh the four famous deci-ns of this very aſſembly of the clergy in 1682, ſubſtance of which was as follows.

. God has not given to *Peter* and his ſucceſ-, any power, direct or indirect, in temporal tters.

. The Gallican church approves the council Conſtance, which declares general councils erior to the pope in ſpirituals.

. The rules, uſages, and cuſtoms received in kingdom, and in the Gallican church, ought ays to remain without variation.

. The deciſions of the pope, in matters of h, are not binding, till after the church has epted them.

ll the courts of juſtice, all the faculties of ology regiſtred theſe four propoſitions in their oſt latitude; and an edict appeared, forbid-g any one to maintain the contrary.

This firmneſs was regarded at Rome as a effort of rebellion; and by all the proteſtants o Europe, as a feeble attempt of a church natu- rally free, whoſe reſolution had enabled her onl to break four links of her chains.

Theſe four maxims were at firſt maintaine with a kind of enthuſiaſm in the nation; but b degrees it began to abate. Towards the end o the reign of Lewis XIV, they were conſidere as queſtions liable to diſpute; and cardin Fleury has ſince cauſed them to be in part di avowed by an aſſembly of the clergy, witho the leaſt ill conſequence following from ſuch diſavowal. The reaſon is, that the minds o men were not then ſo much heated, and becau under the miniſtry of cardinal Fleury nothi was done with eclat.

Mean time Innocent II. was exaſperated mo than ever: he refuſed bulls to all the biſhop and to all the commendatory abbots nominat by the king; inſomuch that at the death of th pope in 1689, there were no leſs than nine a twenty dioceſes in France without biſhop Theſe prelates, it is true, were not the leſs e tituled to their revenues; but they durſt not conſecrated, or exerciſe any of the epiſcop functions. The propoſal of creating a patriar was again renewed. The quarrel about t rights of ambaſſadors at Rome, which ſerved widen the breach ſtill more, made many belie that the time was at laſt come, for eſtabliſhin *catholic apoſtolic* church in France, which ſho no longer bear the title of Roman. The p curator general De Harlai, and the advoc general Talon, gave reaſon enough to conf this perſuaſion, by appealing, in 1687, from

ll againſt the franchiſes, and exclaiming againſt e obſtinacy of the pope, in ſuffering ſo many hurches to remain without paſtors. But the ng could never be brought to agree to this pro-ɔſal, which tho' bold in outward appearance, ould have proved eaſy enough in the exe-ution.

Mean while the cauſe of Innocent XI. became e cauſe of the holy ſee. The four propoſitions lopted by the clergy of France attacked the antom of the pope's infallibility, (which tho' r from being believed, is nevertheleſs warmly pported at Rome) and the real power attach-to that phantom. Alexander VIII, and In-ɔcent XII, followed the ſteps of their intracta-e predeceſſor, Odeſchalchi, tho' with more licy and leſs vigour. They confirmed the ntence paſſed againſt the aſſembly of the clergy; ey refuſed to ſend bulls to the biſhops; in fine, ey did too much, becauſe Lewis XIV had t done enough. The biſhops, tired of a bare mination by the king, without the liberty of erciſing the epiſcopal functions, applied to the urt of France for permiſſion to appeaſe the urt of Rome.

The king, whoſe firmneſs began to be ſhaken, longer oppoſed the reconciliation deſired. Ac-rdingly they wrote every one ſeparately to the pe, expreſſing their diſlike of the proceedings the aſſembly, and declaring that they did not nſider themſelves as bound by what had been ere decided and decreed. Pignatelli, (Innocent II.) more placable than Odeſcalchi, (Innocent I.) was ſatisfied with this declaration. The ur propoſitions were nevertheleſs ſtill taught in rance: but when matters were appeaſed, the

eagerneſs of contention ceaſed, and the diſput
remained in a kind of uncertainty, without an
poſitive deciſion, as almoſt always happens i
caſes of this nature, when a ſtate has no fixe
and invariable principles to go by. Thus ſome
times we oppoſe, ſometimes yield to the en
croachments of the court of Rome, accordin
to the variety of conjunctures, the different cha
racters of our governors, or the particular inte
reſts of thoſe who influence their determination

Lewis XIV. had no quarrel beſides this wit
the court of Rome in eccleſiaſtical matters, ne
ever experienced the leaſt oppoſition from hi
clergy in temporal concerns.

Under him the clergy became venerable, by
decency of behaviour unknown to the barbari
of the two firſt races of our kings, and the ſh
more barbarous times of the feudal governmen
Nor do we meet with the leaſt traces of it du
ing the civil wars, the commotions in the reig
of Lewis XIII. or the agitations occaſioned b
the Fronde, ſome few particular inſtances ex
cepted, for which allowance muſt always b
made, whether we ſpeak of the prevailing vic
or virtues of a nation.

It was then firſt that endeavours began to b
uſed, to open the eyes of the people in relatio
to the ſuperſtitions they are ſo apt to ming
with their religion. It was no longer account
criminal to know, (whatever ſentiments the pa
liament of Aix, or the Carmelites might ente
tain,) that Lazarus and Mary Magdalen had n
ver been in Provence. The Benedictines cou
gain no credit to their aſſertion, that Dionyſi
the Areopagite had governed the church of Pari
Suppoſed ſaints, pretended miracles, falſe relic
beg

egan to loſe repute. Sound reaſon, which ad produced ſuch a reformation in philoſophy, enetrated every where, tho' ſlowly, and with ifficulty.

The biſhop of Chalons, Gaſton Lewis de Noilles, brother to the cardinal of that name, joind ſo much good ſenſe to his piety, that in 1702, e deſtroyed a relick preſerved with great care r many ages in the church of Notre-Dame, nd adored under the name of the *navel* of Jeſus hriſt. All Chalons murmured againſt the biop. Preſidents, counſellors, kings, officers, reaſurers of France, merchants, principal citiens, canons, curates, proteſted unanimouſly nd in form againſt the attempt of the biſhop, emanding to have the holy *navel* reſtored, and ledging the robe of Jeſus Chriſt preſerved at rgenteuil, his handkerchief at Turin and at aon, one of the nails of the croſs at St. Denis, nd his prepuce at Rome. But the prudent mneſs of the biſhop prevailed in the end over e credulity of the people.

Some other ſuperſtitions, attached to reſpected ages, ſtill ſubſiſt: the proteſtants triumph on is account; but at the ſame time are forced to cknowledge, that there is no catholic country, here theſe abuſes are leſs common, or treated ith more contempt than in France.

The truly philoſophical ſpirit, which did not revail till towards the middle of this age, was ot capable of extinguiſhing the antient and moern diſputes of divines, which come not properly within its province. We ſhall now ſpeak f theſe diſſentions, which are indeed a ſcandal o human reaſon.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of CALVINISM.

IT is doubtleſs a melancholly conſideration, that the chriſtian church has always been torn by diſſentions, and that ſo much blood ſhould have been ſhed by hands, deſtined to carry the ſymbols of the god of peace. This furious zeal was unknown to paganiſm. It indeed covered the earth with darkneſs, but it ſcarce ever occaſioned any blood to be ſpilt, except that of animals; and if ſometimes, as among the Jews and heathens, human victims were offered to the deity; theſe ſacrifices, horrible as they were, never produced civil wars. The religion of the heathens conſiſted wholly in morality and feſtivals. Morality, which is the ſame at all times, and in all places, and feſtivals, which were no more than public rejoicings, could never diſturb the peace of mankind.

The dogmatic ſpirit introduced among men that furious zeal which gave riſe to religious wars. I have often conſidered with myſelf, from whence it ſhould proceed, that this dogmatical ſpirit which divided the ſchools of antiquity among the heathens, without cauſing the leaſt diſturbance, ſhould be productive of ſo many fatal diſorders among us. This cannot be the effect of fanaticiſm alone; for the Gymnoſophiſts and Bramins, the moſt fanatic of men, never did hurt to any but themſelves. We are more likely to find the origin of this new peſt which has laid waſte the world, in the republican ſpirit that animated the firſt churches. Thoſe ſecret aſſemblies, which from

rom their caves and receſſes, braved the autho-
ity of the Roman emperors, formed by degrees
ſtate within a ſtate. It was in reality a con-
ealed republic within the empire. Conſtantine
rew it from its retreat under ground, to place
on a level with the throne. In a ſhort time,
e authority attached to the great ſees, was
ound to run counter to that popular ſpirit,
hich had till then animated all the aſſemblies
f Chriſtians. It frequently happened, that
hen the biſhop of a metropolis uttered a ſenti-
ent, a ſuffragan biſhop, a prieſt, or a deacon,
aintained the direct contrary. The ancient
inions, ſince revived by Luther, Zwinglius,
d Calvin, tended in a great meaſure to deſtroy
e epiſcopal authority, and even monarchical
ower itſelf. This, tho' a ſecret, was yet one
f the principal cauſes, which procured ſo ready
reception for theſe opinions in the north of
ermany, where the grandeur of the popes be-
n to give offence, and people dreaded being
ought under ſervitude by the emperors. In
weden and Denmark, where the people enjoy
large ſhare of liberty under their monarchs,
eſe notions were ſeen in a particular manner
triumph.

The Engliſh, whom nature has tinctured with
ſtrong ſpirit of independence, adopted, ſoften-
d, and formed them into a religion for them-
lves. They penetrated into Poland, and made
reat progreſs in thoſe cities, where the people
ere not reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery. Switzer-
nd, as being a republican country, made no
ruple to receive them. They were upon the
oint of being eſtabliſhed at Venice for the ſame
eaſon; and doubtleſs would have taken root

there, had not that city been ſo near Rome; and had not the government, as there is reaſon to believe, dreaded a democracy, which was the great point aimed at by theſe pretended reformers. The Dutch did not embrace this religion, till after they had ſhaken off the yoke of Spain. Geneva, in ſubmitting to Calviniſm, became a popular ſtate. The houſe of Auſtria took all imaginable pains to check the growth of theſe ſects in their dominions. Spain from the very firſt kept them at a diſtance: nor do we find that they occaſioned any great troubles in France during the reigns of Francis I, and Henry II, who were in a manner abſolute princes. But when the government was weak and divided, the quarrels about religion roſe to a violent height: Condé and Coligni declaring themſelves Calviniſts, becauſe the Guiſes ſided with the Catholicks, involved the kingdom in confuſion and civil war. The natural levity and impetuoſity of the nation, joined to the rage of novelty and enthuſiaſm, changed us, for forty years together, from a polite and civilized people, to a nation of barbarians.

Henry IV, born in this ſect, which he really loved, without being in any degree a bigot, found it impoſſible, notwithſtanding all his victories and virtues, to get poſſeſſion of his kingdom without abandoning Calviniſm. After his converſion, gratitude would not permit him to ſeek the deſtruction of a party, naturally the enemy of kings, but to which he was indebted for his crown; and even had he been inclined to make the attempt, it is more than probable that he would have miſcarried. He therefore cheriſhed, protected, and reſtrained it.

The

The Hugonets in France did not at that time make above a twelfth of the nation. But a great many powerful lords were of their party: entire cities were proteſtant. They had made war againſt their ſovereigns, who had been conſtrained to put into their hands ſeveral places of ſtrength for their ſecurity. Henry III. had granted them no leſs than fourteen in Dauphiny only; Montauban and Nimes in Languedoc; Saumur, and, above all, Rochelle, which formed a republic of itſelf, and by its commerce and alliance with England, was like to become very powerful. In fine, Henry IV. ſeemed to act conformably to his own inclination, as well as from a principle of policy and gratitude, in granting them the famous edict of Nants, in 1598. This edict was in reality no more than a confirmation of the privileges which the proteſtants of France had extorted from former princes ſword in hand, and which Henry the great, when he was firmly ſettled on his throne, procured to them by a voluntary grant.

By this edict, which the name of Henry IV has rendered more famous than any other, every lord of a fief, whoſe power extended to capital offences, was permitted the free and unreſtrained exerciſe of the pretended reformed religion within his own caſtle: every lord without capital juriſdiction, might have thirty perſons preſent at divine worſhip in his family. The full and plenary exerciſe of this religion was authorized in all places, under the immediate juriſdiction of a parliament.

The Calviniſts might print books, without applying to their ſuperiors for a licence, in all cities where the exerciſe of their religion was permitted.

They

They were declared capable of all the ſeveral offices and dignities of the ſtate, and, in fact, enjoyed their ſhare, the king having created the lords De la Trimouille, and De Roni, dukes and peers of France.

A particulur chamber was formed in the parliament of Paris, conſiſting of a preſident and ſixteen counſellors, to whom were referred all cauſes in which Hugonets were concerned, not only in the immenſe diſtrict of Paris, but likewiſe in that of Normandy and Bretagne. This court was entitled, the chamber of the edict. Indeed there never was above one Calviniſt admitted among the counſellors of this juriſdiction: but as the main deſign of it was to prevent thoſe vexations of which the party complained, and as men always value themſelves on the faithful diſcharge of a truſt by which they are diſtinguiſhed; this chamber, tho' compoſed of Catholics, always rendered the moſt exact juſtice to the Hugonets, as they themſelves acknowledged.

They had a little parliament at Caſtres, independent on that of Toulouſe. They had likewiſe courts of juſtice at Grenoble and Bourdeaux, whoſe judges were one half Roman-catholics, and the other Calviniſts. Their churches were permitted to aſſemble in ſynods, in the ſame manner as the Gallican church. Theſe privileges, and a great many others, incorporated the Calviniſts into a diſtinct body among themſelves. It was, in effect, ſuffering enemies to league together: but the authority, the addreſs, and the equal behaviour of this great monarch, kept them within bounds during his life.

After

After the calamitous, and never enough to be lamented death of Henry IV, during the weakneſs of a minority, and under a divided court, it was hardly poſſible for the republican ſpirit of the Reformed, not to abuſe their privileges, or for the court, feeble as it was, not to attempt the reſtraining them. The Hugonets had already eſtabliſhed *Circles* in France, in imitation of thoſe in Germany. The deputies of thoſe circles were frequently men of a turbulent ſpirit; and ſeveral lords of the party were noted for an unbounded ambition. The duke of Bouillon, and above all the duke of Rohan, who ſtood in the firſt degree of credit among the Hugonets, ſoon hurried the reſtleſs ſpirit of the preachers, and the blind zeal of the people, into an open revolt. The general aſſembly of the party, in 1615, had the aſſurance to preſent a remonſtrance to the court, in which, among other injurious articles, they demanded that the king's council ſhould be changed. In 1616, they took up arms in ſeveral places; and the audacious behaviour of the Hugonets, joined to the diviſions of the court, the hatred againſt the favourites, and the unquiet ſtate of the nation, filled all places for ſome time with confuſion and diſorder. Nothing was to be ſeen but ſeditions, intrigues, hoſtile confederacies, inſurrections, treaties concluded in haſte, and broken as ſoon as ſigned; which made the celebrated cardinal Bentivoglio, at that time nuncio in France, ſay, that during his reſidence, the climate had produced nothing but ſtorms.

In the year 1621, the Calviniſt churches of France offered Leſdiguieres, that ſoldier of fortune who was afterwards made conſtable, the command of

of their armies, and a hundred thouſand crowns a month. But Leſdiguieres, more clear-ſighted in his ambition than they in their factions, and who knew them perfectly, as having commanded them before, choſe rather at that time to fight againſt them, than be at their head; and, inſtead of accepting their offers, turned Catholic. The Hugonets then addreſſed themſelves to the marſhal duke de Bouillon, who returned for anſwer, that he was too old. In fine, they conferred that unhappy employment upon the duke of Rohan, who jointly with his brother Soubiſe, had the inſolence to make war upon the king of France.

The ſame year the conſtable de Luines carried Lewis XIII. from province to province. He ſubdued upwards of fifty cities, almoſt without reſiſtance; but miſcarried before Montauban, whence the king had the mortification of being obliged to decamp. Rochelle was obliged in vain; being no leſs indebted for its reſiſtance to its own ſtrength, than to the ſuccours it received from England: and the duke of Rohan, guilty of the crime of high treaſon, concluded a peace with his ſovereign, as if one crowned head had been treating with another.

After this peace, and after the death of the conſtable de Luines, the war broke out anew, and the king was again obliged to lay ſiege to Rochelle, always in league againſt its ſovereign with the Engliſh, and the Calviniſts of the kingdom. A woman (the mother of the duke of Rohan) defended this city a whole year againſt the royal army, againſt the activity of cardinal Richlieu, and againſt the intrepidity of Lewis XIII. who braved death more than once at this ſiege. The city ſuffered all the inconveniencies of

of the moſt extreme famine; and did not ſurrender at laſt, but in conſequence of that prodigious ſtaccado of five hundred feet long, which cardinal Richlieu ordered to be made, in imitation of that which Alexander the Great formerly raiſed before Tyre. It was begun by a Frenchman named Firiot, finiſhed by Pompey Targon, and ſubdued the ſea and the Rochellers. The mayor Guiton, who ſought to bury himſelf under the ruins of Rochelle, had the boldneſs, after ſurrendering at diſcretion, to appear with his guards before cardinal Richlieu; the mayors of the principal Hugonet cities being permitted the privilege of guards. Guiton's were taken from him, and the city was diveſted of its privileges. The duke of Rohan, chief of the rebellious heretics, ſtill continued the war againſt his prince; and being abandoned by the Engliſh, tho' Proteſtants, entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, tho' Roman-catholics. But the firmneſs of cardinal Richlieu forced the Hugonets at laſt, after ſeeing themſelves defeated on all ſides, to ſubmit without reſerve.

All the edicts granted them before this time, had been ſo many formal treaties with their ſovereigns. Richlieu was reſolved, that the one yielded to them on this occaſion ſhould be called *the edict of grace*. The king in it ſpeaks in the ſtile of a prince who pardons. The exerciſe of the new religion was forbid in Rochelle, the Iſle of Rhee, Fleron, Privas, and Pamiers; in all other points, Lewis XIII thought proper to confirm the edict of Nantes, which the Calviniſts always regarded as their fundamental law.

Many

Many thought it ſtrange, that cardinal Richlieu, ſo abſolute and imperious in all his proceedings, did not totally aboliſh this famous edict: but at that time he had other views, more difficult, perhaps, in the execution, yet not leſs conformable to the extent of his ambition, and his ſtupendous deſigns. He aimed at the glory of ſubduing the minds of men, which he imagined himſelf able to accompliſh, by the ſuperiority of his underſtanding, of his power, and of his politics. His project was to gain the miniſters; to bring them firſt to acknowledge, that the Roman-catholic worſhip was not criminal in the ſight of god; to lead them afterwards, by degrees, to give up ſome points of little importance, and to appear in the eyes of the court of Rome as if he had yielded nothing at all. He flattered himſelf with the hopes of dazzling one party of the reformed; of ſeducing another by preſents aud penſions; and of uniting them all, at leaſt in outward appearauce, to the church, leaving it to time to accompliſh the reſt, and feeding his ambition with the glorious proſpect of having either affected or paved the way to this great work, and paſſing with poſterity for the author of it. The famous father Joſeph on one ſide, and two miniſters he had gained on the other, charged themſelves with this negotiation. But it appeared that cardinal Richlieu had carried his expectations too far, and that it is more difficult to adjuſt the differences of divines, than to raiſe ſtaccadoes in the ocean.

Richlieu, finding himſelf diſappointed, reſolved entirely to cruſh the Calviniſts; but other cares interpoſing, prevented the execution of this

this deſign. He found himſelf under a neceſſity of combating at the ſame time the grandees of the kingdom, the royal family, the whole houſe of Auſtria, and often Lewis XIII. himſelf. He died at laſt amidſt ſtorms and perils, before he was able to compleat any of his deſigns, leaving behind him a name rather dazzling than dear and venerable.

Mean time, after the taking of Rochelle, and the edict of grace, the civil wars ceaſed, and the animoſity of the two parties vented itſelf only in diſpute and controverſy. Then were produced thoſe volumnious compoſitions, which nobody now takes the trouble to read. The clergy, and eſpecially the Jeſuits, aimed at converting the Hugonets. The Hugonet preachers endeavoured to bring over ſome Catholics to their opinions. The king's council was employed in iſſuing arrets about a burying-ground, which the two parties were diſputing in a village; about a chapel built on ſome lands formerly belonging to the church; about ſchools, the juriſdiction of baſtles, interments, bells; but the Reformed ſeldom gained their ſuit. Theſe trifling conteſts were all that now remained, after the former devaſtations and ravages. The Hugonets, ſince the death of the duke of Rohan, and the diveſting the houſe of Bouillon of the ſovereignty of Sedan, had no leader qualified to take the charge of their affairs. They even valued themſelves not a little on the pacific conduct they obſerved during the factions of the Fronde, and the civil wars excited by the princes of the blood, the parliaments, and the biſhops, when they pretended to make the king an offer of their ſervice againſt cardinal Mazarin.

Religon

Religion had no part in the quarrels that diſtracted the kingdom during the life of this miniſter; who far from being tenacious on that article, made no ſcruple to beſtow the place of comptroller-general of the finances upon a Hugonet of Engliſh extraction, named Hervard; and admitted the Hugonets, without reſerve, into all the offices depending on the revenue.

Colbert, who revived the induſtry of the nation, and whom we ought to look upon as the father and founder of our commerce, employed a great number of Hugonets in arts, manufactures, and the navy. Theſe uſeful engagements, which engroſſed the greateſt part of their time, ſoftned by degrees the prevailing rage of controverſy; and the glory which for fifty years together ſurrounded the throne of Lewis XIV. joined to his power, and the firmneſs and vigour of his adminiſtration, extinguiſhed in the Calviniſt party, as it did in the ſeveral orders of the ſtate, the leaſt idea of reſiſtance. The magnificent feaſts of a gay and gallant court, threw an air of ridicule upon the pedantry of the Hugonets. In proportion as good taſte gained ground, the pſalms of Marot and Beza began to loſe their credit. Theſe pſalms, which had charmed the court of Francis II. appeared to be only calculated for the populace under Lewis XIV. Sound philoſophy, which began to make its way in the world towards the middle of this age, helped ſtill more to put men out of conceit with religious diſputes.

But while reaſon was gradually extending her influence over men, the ſpirit of controverſy itſelf became inſtrumental in preſerving the tranquility of the ſtate. For the Janſeniſts beginning about thi

this time to appear with ſome reputation, engroſſed a conſiderable ſhare of the attention of thoſe who were fond of ſuch ſubtilties. They wrote at the ſame time againſt the Jeſuits and Hugonets; theſe laſt employed themſelves in anſwering the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits: the Lutherans in the province of Alſace attacked all the three. A paper war amongſt ſo many different ſects, at a time when the ſtate was engaged in great deſigns, and the government was powerful and flouriſhing, could not fail of becoming, in a few years, the mere amuſement of the idle part of the nation, which ſooner or later always dwindles into indifference.

Lewis XIV. was exaſperated againſt the ſectaries, by the continual remonſtrances of his clergy, by the inſinuations of the Jeſuits, by the court of Rome, and, in fine, by the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his ſon, both enemies to Colbert, and who had reſolved to extirpate the Reformed as rebels, becauſe Colbert protected them as uſeful ſubjects. Lewis XIV. wholly a ſtranger to the fundamentals of their doctrine, regarded them, not without ſome reaſon, as old revolters, who bore the yoke with reluctance. He applied himſelf firſt to undermine by degrees the whole fabric of their religion. Churches were taken from them on the moſt ſlender pretexts. They were forbid to marry the daughters of Catholics; of which, however, the policy does not ſo well appear; as it ſeems to argue an ignorance of the power of a ſex, which the court in other reſpects knew ſo perfectly. The intendants and biſhops, by the moſt plauſible contrivances, endeavour to get the children of the Hugonets into their hands.

Colbert

Colbert had orders, in 1681, not to admit any perſons of this religion into the employments of the revenue. They were excluded, as much as poſſible, from the mechanic and trading corporations. The king, amidſt a conduct ſo rigorous, did not always make them feel the whole weight of their ſervitude. Edicts appeared, forbidding all violence againſt them; inſinuations were mingled with ſeverities; and the oppreſſions they laboured under, were at leaſt covered over with a form of juſtice.

One very efficacious inſtrument of converſion was particularly iſſued; I mean money. But this expedient was not puſhed ſo far as it might. Peliſſon had the charge of this ſecret ſervice; the ſame who is ſo well known by his long adherence to Calviniſm, by his writings, by his copious eloquence, and by his attachment to the ſuperintendant Fouquet, whoſe ſecretary, favourite, and victim he was. He had the good fortune to be convinced of his errors, and to change his religion, at a time when that change opened his way to fortune and preferment. He took the eccleſiaſtical habit, obtained ſeveral benefices, and the place of maſter of requeſts. The king, towards the year 1677, intruſted him with the revenues of the abbies of St. Germain, Deſprez, and Cluni, to be employed in effecting converſions. Cardinal Camus, biſhop of Grenoble, had already purſued the ſame courſe. Peliſſon, charged with this negotiation, ſent money into the provinces. Endeavours were uſed to effect many converſions at a moderate expence: ſmall ſums, diſtributed to the indigent, ſwelled the liſt which Peliſſon every three months preſented to the king, and contributed to perſuade him, that every thing gave way to his power or his generoſity. The

The council, encouraged by this ſmall ſucceſs, which time might have rendered more conſiderable, adventured, in 1681, to publiſh a declaration, by which children were permitted to renounce their religion at the age of ſeven years. In conſequence of this declaration, great numbers of children were ſeized in the provinces, with a view to make them abjure; and troops were quartered upon their parents.

This precipitation of the chancellor Le Tellier, and Louvois his ſon, was the occaſion that in 1681, a great many families of Poitou, Saintonge, and the neighbouring provinces, abandoned the kingdom: and ſtrangers with eagerneſs took advautage of this falſe ſtep.

The kings of England and Denmark, and eſpecially the city of Amſterdam, invited the Calviniſts of France to take refuge in their territories, promiſing to provide amply for their ſubſiſtence. Amſterdam alone undertook to build a thouſand Houſes for their reception.

The council perceived the dangerous conſequences of a too early uſe of authority, and hoped to find in that very authority a remedy for the evil. They were ſenſible how neceſſary artiſans and ſeamen were, in a country where commerce flouriſhed, and at a time when deſigns were on foot to eſtabliſh a naval power. The puniſhment of the gallies were denounced againſt all of theſe profeſſions who ſhould attempt to quit the kingdom.

It was obſerved, that a great number of Calviniſt families ſold their eſtates. Immediately a proclamation appeared, confiſcating all thoſe eſtates, in caſe the ſeller ſhould leave the kingdom

dom within the ſpace of a year. The perſecution was now redoubled againſt the miniſters; their churches were taken from them upon the moſt frivolous pretences; and all the rents left by will to their congregations, were applied to the hoſpitals of the kingdom.

The maſters of Calviniſt ſchools were not permitted to receive boarders. The miniſters were loaded with taxes. Proteſtant mayors were deprived of their privileges. The officers of the king's houſhold, and the king's ſecretaries who were proteſtants, had orders to reſign their places. None of this religion were admitted either among the notaries, attornies, or advocates.

It was ſtrongly recommended to all the clergy, to be very diligent in making proſelytes; and the proteſtant miniſters were forbid to make any, under pain of perpetual baniſhment. All theſe ordinances were publickly ſollicited by the clergy of France, who ſtiled themſelves the children of the houſhold, that were reſolved to have no part with ſtrangers introduced by force.

Peliſſon continued to expend conſiderable ſums in making converts. But madam Hervard, widow of the comptroller-general of the finances, animated with that zeal for her religion which has been obſerved in all ages to belong to the ſex, ſent as much money into the provinces to prevent theſe converſions, as Peliſſon had done to procure them.

At laſt the Hugonets had the courage to diſobey in ſome provinces. They aſſembled in the Vivares and in Dauphiny, near the places where their churches had been demoliſhed. They were attacked, and they defended themſelves. But this was only a ſmall ſpark of the fire of our anti-

ent

ent civil wars. Two or three hundred miſerable wretches without a leader, without towns, and even without deſigns, were diſperſed in a quarter of an hour. Their puniſhment immediately followed their defeat. The intendant of Dauphiny cauſed the grandſon of the miniſter Chamier, who had drawn up the edict of Nantes, to be broke upon the wheel. He is accounted one of the moſt famous martyrs of the ſect; and the name of chamier has long been held in veneration by the proteſtants.

The intendant Baville, in Languedoc, cauſed the miniſter Chomel to be broke upon the wheel. Three more were ſentenced to the ſame puniſhment, and ten to be hanged; but they eſcaped the execution by flight, and ſuffered only in effigy.

All this inſpired terror, and at the ſame time ſerved to confirm men in an obſtinate adherence to their opinions. It is well known, that our attachment to any religion grows ſtronger, in proportion as we ſuffer for its ſake.

About this time it was inſinuated to the king, that after having ſent miſſionaries into all the provinces, it behoved him likewiſe to ſend dragoons. Theſe violences, which ſeem to have been very ill timed, were a conſequence of the ſpirit which then prevailed at court, that every thing ought to ſubmit to the will of Lewis XIV. It was not conſidered, that the Hugonets were no longer the ſame as at Jarnac, Moncontour, and Coutras; that the rage of civil war was extinguiſhed; that the malady which had ſo long afflicted the nation was almoſt ſpent; that time was inſenſibly reſtoring things to their firſt ſtate; that if the fathers had been rebels under Lewis XIII. their ſons were become good ſubjects under Lewis XIV.

It

It appeared in England, in Holland, in Germany, that many different ſects, who had torn one another to pieces during the laſt age, now lived peaceably together within the walls of the ſame city. Every thing proved, that an abſolute king might be equally well ſerved by Catholics and by Proteſtants. The Lutherans of Alſace demonſtrated this beyond all contradiction.

Lewis XIV, who upon ſeizing Straſburg in 1681, engaged to protect Lutheraniſm, might have acted in the ſame manner with reſpect to Calviniſm, and left it to time to aboliſh it inſenſibly; as it every day diminiſhes the numher of Lutherans in Alſace. Could it be imagin'd, that in forcing a great number of his ſubjects to abandon their religion, he would not loſe many more, who in ſpite of all his edicts and guards, would find means to withdraw themſelves from a violence, which they termed a horrible perſecution? Why ſhould a million of people be compelled to hate a name ſo dear and precious, and to which both Proteſtants and Catholics, Frenchmen and Strangers, had agreed to join the epithet of *Great?* Policy itſelf ſeemed to require a toleration of the Calviniſts, in order to oppoſe them to the continual pretenſions of the court of Rome. The king about this very time had openly quarrelled with Innocent II, the avowed enemy of France. But Lewis XIV, equally attached to the intereſts of his religion and his grandeur, was reſolved to humble the pope with one hand and cruſh Calviniſm with the other.

He conſidered theſe two enterprizes as productive of that luſtre of glory, of which he was in all things fond even to idolatry. The biſhops, the intendants, the whole council made him be-

lieve

lieve, that the bare appearance of his troops was ſufficient to compleat what his liberalities and miſſions had already begun. He thought he did no more than exert his authority: but thoſe to whom that authority was committed, proceeded with extreme rigour.

Towards the end of the year 1684, and in the beginning of 1685, when Lewis XIV, ſtill powerfully armed, had nothing to apprehend from any of his neighbours, troops were ſent into all the cities and caſtles where the proteſtants were moſt numerous; and as the dragoons, who at that time were very ill diſciplined, committed the greateſt exceſſes, this execution obtained the name of the *Dragonade*.

The frontiers were guarded with all poſſible care, to prevent the flight of thoſe who were deſigned to be re-united to the church. It was a kind of chace carried on within a large encloſure.

A biſhop, an intendant, a ſubdelegate, a curate, or ſome other perſon in authority, marched at the head of the ſoldiers. The principal Calviniſt families were aſſembled, thoſe eſpecially who were judged moſt likely to ſubmit. They renounced their religion in the name of the reſt; and ſuch as continued obſtinate were given up to the mercy of the ſoldiers, who had every licence except that of killing: yet many were treated with ſo much cruelty, as to die ſoon after of the uſuage they had received. The poſterity of the refugees in foreign countries, ſtill exclaim againſt this perſecution of their fathers; comparing it to the moſt violent the church ſuſtained in the primitive ages of chriſtianity.

It afforded a ſtrange contraſt, to behold ſuch cruel and mercileſs orders iſſued from the boſom

of a voluptuous court, eminent for ſoftneſs of manners, the graces, and all the endearing charms of ſocial life. The inflexible character of the marquis de Louvois appears conſpicuous in this whole affair; and points out to our obſervation the ſame genius which had propoſed to bury Holland under the waves, and afterwards deſtroyed the Palatinate with fire and ſword. There are ſtill extant ſeveral letters under his own hand, dated in the year 1685, and conceived in theſe terms: "It is his majeſty's pleaſure, that ſuch "as refuſe to conform to his religion be proceed-"ed againſt with the utmoſt rigour, and that "not the leaſt indulgence be ſhewn to thoſe who "affect the fooliſh glory of being the laſt to "comply."

Paris was not expoſed to theſe vexations: the cries of the ſufferers would have made themſelves heard too near the throne.

While the churches of the Reformed were thus demoliſhed in all parts, and abjurations were demanded in the provinces with an armed force, the edict of Nantes was at laſt revoked in the month of October 1685; which compleated the ruin of the Proteſtant cauſe, already weakened and undermined on all ſides.

The chamber of the edict had been ſuppreſſed ſome time before, and the Calviniſt counſellors in parliament were ordered to reſign their places. Arrets of council appeared, one upon the neck of another, to extirpate the remains of the proſcribed religion. That which proved moſt fatal was the order for ſeizing the children of the pretended Reformed, and putting them into the hands of their neareſt catholic relations; an or-

er againſt which the voice of nature cried ſo udly, that it was never put in execution.

But in this celebrated edict, which revoked at of Nantes, the way was paved to an event, rectly contrary to what was intended. The go-rnment aimed at reuniting the Calviniſts to the tional church. Gourville, a man of a clear d piercing judgment, counſelled Louvois, as well known, to impriſon all the miniſters, and leaſe only ſuch as being gained by ſecret penſi-s, would agree to abjure in public, and might ereby contribute more to the projected reunion, an the miſſionaries and ſoldiers. But inſtead of llowing this politic advice, an edict appeared, dering all the miniſters who refuſed to renounce ir religion, to quit the realm in fifteen days. was blindneſs to imagine that in driving away paſtors, a great part of the flock would not low. It was preſuming unreaſonably upon wer, and argued very little knowledge of man-d, to believe that ſo many ulcerated hearts, ſo ny imaginations warmed with the idea of mar-dom, eſpecially in the ſouthern parts of France, uld not run all hazards to go and publiſh their nſtancy and the glory of their exile among angers, when ſo many nations, envious of the tune of Lewis XIV, were ready with open ns to receive them.

The old chancellor Tellier, when he ſigned edict, cried with an air of joy: *Nunc dimittis vum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei ſalu-e tuum.* He did not imagine that what he n ſigned would be productive of the greateſt ſchief to France.

Louvois his ſon no leſs deceived himſelf in be-ing, that a bare order was ſufficient for the

guard of the frontiers, and to prevent the escape of such as thought their duty obliged them to fly. Industry, when employed to elude the law, always proves an overmatch for authority. The gaining over some few of the guards sufficed for the escape of a multitude of Refugees. Near fifty thousand families, within the space of three years left the kingdom, and were afterwards followed by others; who introduced their arts, manufactures and riches among strangers. Almost all the north of Germany, a country hitherto rude, and void of industry, received a new face from the multitudes of refugees transplanted thither, who peopled entire cities. Stuffs, lace, hats, stockings, formerly imported from France, were now made in those countries. A part of the suburbs of London was peopled entirely with French manufacturers in silk: others carried thither the art of making chrystal in perfection, which was about this time lost in France. The gold which the Refugees brought with them, is still very frequently to be met with in Germany. Thus France lost about five hundred thousand inhabitants, a prodigious quantity of species, and above all, the arts with which her enemies enriched themselves. Holland gained excellent officers and soldiers. The prince of Orange had entire regiments of refugees. Some settled even at the Cape of Good-hope. The nephew of the celebrated du Quene, lieutenant general of the marine, founded a colony at the extremity of the globe.

It was to no purpose to fill the prisons and galies with those who had been caught endeavouring to make their escape. What could be done with such a multitude of wretches, whom the hardships they suffered served only to confirm in their

their belief? How could perſons bred to the law, or infirm old men, be made to ſerve in the galleies? Some hundreds embarked for America. At laſt the council imagined, that by leaving the frontiers open, deſertions would become leſs frequent, as men would no longer be inſtigated by the ſecret pleaſure of diſobeying. But this was found to be a miſtake; and after leaving the paſſages open, guards were a ſecond time planted to no purpoſe.

After demoliſhing all the churches of the reformed, and baniſhing their paſtors, the great point was, to retain in the Roman communion ſuch as through perſuaſion or fear had quitted their religion. There were about four hundred thouſand of theſe in the kingdom, who were obliged to go to maſs and communicate. Some who, after embracing the catholic religion, rejected the hoſt, were ſentenced to be burnt alive. The bodies of ſuch as refuſed to receive the ſacraments at their death, were drawn upon a hurdle, and denied Chriſtian burial.

Perſecution never fails to make proſelytes, eſpecially when it is exerted againſt a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm. The Calviniſts aſſembled to ſing their hymns, tho' the penalty of death was denounced againſt all who ſhould be found at ſuch aſſemblies. Miniſters returning into the kingdom were likewiſe to ſuffer death, and a reward of five thouſand five hundred livres was to be given to whoſoever ſhould inform againſt them. Several returned, who were either hanged or broke upon the wheel. The ſect, tho' cruſhed in appearance, ſtill ſubſiſted. It vainly flattered itſelf, in the war of 1689, that king William, who had dethroned his father-in-law for being a Catholic, would ſup-

port Calviniſm in France. But in the war o
1701, fanaticiſm produced a rebellion in Lan
guedoc.

It was now ſome conſiderable time, ſince i
the mountains of Cevennes and Vivares, certai
perſons had appeared, who pretended to the gif
of inſpiration and prophecy. An old Hugonot
named De Serres, had there kept a ſchool of pro
phets. He directed children to thoſe words o
ſcripture which ſay, "That where two or thre
"are met together in my name, my ſpirit ſha
"be in the midſt of them; and if you had fait
"like a grain of muſtard ſeed, you would b
"able to remove mountains." He afterwar
received the ſpirit, fell into extaſies, convulſion
and change of voice; remained immoveable, wit
his hair ſtanding on end, and with all the ſympton
of a man beſide himſelf, according to the ancie
uſage of all nations, and the rules of prophet
madneſs tranſmitted from age to age. The you
under his care were ſoon ſeized with the ſame pr
pheſying humour; and if they were not able
remove mountains, it was becauſe they had fai
enough to receive the ſpirit, but not to work m
racles: accordingly they redoubled their fervo
for the obtaining of this laſt gift.

While the Cevennes were thus become a ſcho
of enthuſiaſm, ſome of the miniſters, who we
honoured with the title of *apoſtles*, returned ſ
cretly to preach among the people.

Claude Brouſſon, of a conſiderable family i
Nimes, a man of eloquence, of great zeal, an
in the higheſt reputation among foreigners, r
turned to preach in his own country in 1698. H
was found guilty, not only of preaching contra
to the edicts, but of having, about ten years b
for

fore, held intelligence with the enemies of the ſtate. The intendant Baville condemned him to be broke upon the wheel. He died after the manner of the firſt martyrs. All thoſe of his own ſect, all foreign proteſtants, forgetting that he was a criminal of ſtate, conſidered him only as a ſaint, who had ſealed the faith with his blood.

Upon this, prophets multiplied, and the ſpirit of frenzy redoubled. Unhappily in 1703, an abbé of the houſe of Chailat, an overſeer of the miſſions in thoſe parts, obtained an order from the court, to ſhut up in a convent two daughters of a gentleman lately converted. The abbé, inſtead of conducting them into the convent, carried them firſt to his own caſtle. The Calviniſts flocked together, forced the gates, and delivered the two young ladies, beſides ſeveral other priſoners. The ſedition encreaſing, they ſeized the abbé du Chailat; but offering him his life, on condition he would change his religion. The abbé refuſed; upon which one of their prophets cried, *Die then, the ſpirit condemns you, your ſin be upon your own head:* and immediatly he was ſhot to death. Soon after, they ſeized the receivers of the capitation tax, and hanged them with their rolls about their necks. Then they fell upon all the prieſts they met, maſſacreing them without diſtinction. Troops being ſent in queſt of them, they retired amidſt the woods and rocks. Their number enreaſed. Their prophets and propheteſſes foretold, on the part of the Almighty, the re-eſtabliſhment of Jeruſalem, and the fall of Babylon. The abbé de Bourlie appeared unexpectedly at their head, amidſt theſe ſavage retreats, and furniſhed them with money and arms.

He was ſon of the marquis de Guiſcard, the king's ſub-governor, who was one of the wiſeſt men in the kingdom. This young nobleman, little worthy of ſuch a father, having fled into Holland on account of ſome crime, endeavoured to excite a revolt in the Cevennes. Some time after he repaired to London, where he was arreſted for betraying the Engliſh miniſter, as he had before betray'd his country. When he was brought before the council, he ſnatched up a long knife, and wounded the lord treaſurer Harley. This occaſioned his being ſent to priſon, and loaded with irons, where he prevented the puniſhment he muſt otherwiſe have undergone, by a voluntary death. This was the man, who in the name of the Engliſh, the Dutch, and the duke of Savoy, came to encourage the fanatics, and promiſe them powerful ſuccours.

Great part of the country favoured them ſecretly. Their cry was, *Liberty of conſcience, and no taxes*; which ſeduced the populace everywhere, and juſtified Lewis XIV's deſign of extirpating Calviniſm. But without the revocation of the edict of Nantes, theſe madmen would never have taken up arms.

The king firſt ſent the marſhal de Mont-reve with ſome troops, who made war upon thoſe wretches in the manner they deſerved, by ordering the priſoners to be burnt alive, or broke up on the wheel. But the ſoldiers that fell into their hands were likewiſe made to expire amidſt the moſt cruel torments. The king, who had ſo many enemies upon his hands, could only ſend a few troops againſt them. It was difficult to ſurpriſe them amidſt almoſt inacceſſible rocks, in cavarns, in woods whither they retired by unfre-

quente

quented paths, and whence they ſallied like wild beaſts. They even defeated in a ſet battle a regiment of marines. Three marſhals of France were ſucceſſively employed againſt them. Marſhal Mont-revel was in 1704 ſucceeded by Marſhal Villars.

As it was more difficult to find them out than to defeat them, the marſhal de Villars, after rendering himſelf ſufficiently formidable to them, propoſed a general pardon. Some among them finding themſelves diſappointed of the ſuccours promiſed by the duke of Savoy, thought proper to accept of the offer.

The moſt conſiderable of their chiefs, and indeed the only one who deſerves to be mentioned, was Cavalier. I have ſeen him ſince in Holland and England. He was a fair man, of ſmall ſtature, and a very agreeable engaging countenance. He was called David by thoſe of his party; and from a baker's ſon, at the age of twenty-three, had raiſed himſelf to be chief over a great multitude of people, partly by his courage, and partly by means of a propheteſs, who procured him to be acknowledged as ſuch, in conſequence of an expreſs order of the Holy Ghoſt. Marſhal Villars found him at the head of eight hundred men, whom he had formed into a regiment. When the amneſty was propoſed, he demanded hoſtages, which were accordingly ſent. He came to Nimes, attended by one of the chiefs, where the forms of the treaty were ſettled.

He undertook to form the revolters into four regiments, who were to ſerve the king under four colonels, of which he was to be the firſt himſelf, with the privilege of naming the other. Theſe regiments were to be permitted the free

exercise of their religion, like the foreign troops in the pay of France; but this freedom was allowed no where else.

These conditions were accepted, when emissaries arrived from Holland, who endeavoured to prevent their being carried into execution by presents and promises. They drew off the most considerable of the fanatics from their engagement to Cavalier, who having passed his word to the marshal Villars, was resolved to keep it. He accepted the commission of a colonel, and began to form his regiment with a hundred and thirty men, who still continued attached to him.

I have heard the marshal Villars relate, that asking this young man, how at his years he could acquire so much authority among a headstrong undisciplined rabble; he received for answer, that when at any time they refused to obey, his prophetess, whom they termed the *Great Mary*, was instantly seized with a fit of inspiration, and condemned the refractory, who were put to death without form of tryal. Having myself afterwards put the same question to Cavalier, he returned me the same answer.

This singular negociation happened after the battle of Hochstet. Lewis XIV, who had so haughtily proscribed Calvinism, concluded a peace, under the name of an amnesty, with a baker's son; and marshal Villars presented him with the commission of a colonel, and a brief for a pension of twelve hundred livres.

The new colonel went to Versailles to receive the orders of the minister of war. The king saw him and shrugged up his shoulder. Cavalier, distrusting the minister, withdrew into Piedmont, whence he passed into Holland and England. He served

ſerved in Spain, where he had the command of a regiment. He died a general officer, and governor of the iſle of Guernſey, with a great reputation for valour, retaining nothing of his former tranſports but courage, and having by degrees ſubſtituted prudence in the place of fanaticiſm, which was no longer ſupported by example.

Marſhal Villars being recalled from Languedoc, was replaced by Marſhal Berwick. The ill ſucceſs of the king's arms had emboldened the fanatics of Languedoc, who expected ſuccours from Heaven, and received them from the allies. Money was remitted to them by the way of Geneva: they had a promiſe of officers from Holland and England; and held intelligence in all the towns in the province.

We may rank in the number of their greateſt conſpiracies, that which they formed to ſeize the duke of Berwick, and the intendant Baville in Niſmes, to cauſe Languedoc and Dauphne to revolt, and to introduce the enemy into theſe provinces. The ſecret was kept by upwards of a thouſand conſpirators. The indiſcretion of a ſingle perſon brought all to light. More than two hundred died by the hands of the executioner. Marſhal Berwick ſpared none of theſe unhappy wretches that came in his way. Some died with their arms in their hands; others upon wheels or amidſt flames. A few, more given to propheſy than fighting, found means to eſcape into Holland. The French refugees there received them as meſſengers from Heaven. They came forth to meet them chanting pſalms, and ſtrewing the way with boughs of trees. Theſe prophets went afterwards to England; but finding that the epiſcopal church there had too much affinity with that of Rome, they ſtrove to make their own bear ſway.

ſway. Their confidence was ſo ſtrong, that not doubting but with a great deal of faith, great miracles might be wrought, they offered to raiſe a perſon from the dead, and even any one choſen at pleaſure. The people are every where the ſame, and the preſbyterians might have joined the fanatics in oppoſition to the church of England. The Engliſh miniſtry took the courſe which ſhould always be taken with workers of miracles. They were allowed to take up a dead body in the church-yard of the cathedral. The place was ſurrounded with guards; every thing paſſed juridically and in form; and the ſcene ended with ſentencing the prophets to ſtand in the pillory.

Mean while in France, time, the prudence of the government, and the progreſs of reaſon have by degrees rendered the Calviniſts quiet: their number is diminiſhed, and the rage of their enthuſiaſm abated.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of JANSENISM.

SUCH was the nature of Calviniſm, that it neceſſarily produced civil wars, and ſhook the foundations of ſtates. Janſeniſm could only raiſe theological diſputes, and paper wars; for the reformers of the fifteenth century having broken all the ties whereby the Romiſh church held mankind; having treated what ſhe eſteemed moſt ſacred as idolatry; having thrown open her cloiſters, and given up her treaſures into the hands of the laity, it followed of conſequence that one of the two parties muſt be ſubdued by the

the other: and the religion of Luther and Calvin never appeared in any country, without being the cauſe of bloodſhed.

But the Janſeniſts did not attack the church, by ſtriking at her fundamental points, nor by aiming at her wealth; but writing upon abſtracted queſtions, ſometimes againſt the Calviniſts, ſometimes againſt the Catholics, and againſt the Pope's decrees, they at laſt loſt all credit; and their ſect is now deſpiſed, tho' it has been ſupported by ſeveral perſons eminent for their characters and abilities.

Even at the time when the Hugonots attracted a ſerious attention, Janſeniſm rather made a noiſe in France than any real diſturbance. The diſputes about this doctrine, like many others, had their riſe abroad. A certain doctor of Louvain, named Michael Bay, called Baius, according to the pedantic humour of thoſe times, in 1552, took upon him to maintain ſome propoſitions upon grace and predeſtination. This queſtion, like almoſt all others in metaphyſics, had its origin in the intricate mazes of fatality and free-will, wherein all ages have been bewildered, and in which mankind have no guide to conduct them.

An inquiſitive temper has been implanted in us, for good purpoſes, by the author of nature: it is a neceſſary incitement to promote our inſtruction; but it often tranſports us beyond the proper bounds; in the ſame manner as many other paſſions of the ſoul, which, if unable to carry us to ſuch an extravagant length, would not perhaps be ſufficient incentives to action.

Thus diſputes have ariſen upon matters which are not underſtood: but the controverſies among the antient philoſophers were always peaceable; whereas

whereas thoſe of our divines are often bloody and always turbulent.

The Cordeliers, who did not underſtand theſe dark points better than Michael Baius, imagined that free-will was thereby deſtroyed, and the whole doctrine of Scot endangered. Being likewiſe exaſperated againſt Baius, on account of another diſpute almoſt of the ſame nature, they accuſed him of ſeventy ſix heretical articles before Pope Pius V. It was Sixtus Quintus, then general of the Cordeliers, who drew up the bull of condemnation in 1567; and this I believe was the firſt, wherein opinions, without being particularly ſpecified, were condemned.

Thus either from a fear of bringing the affair to an open diſputation, from a diſguſt of examining ſuch ſubtilties, or from an indifference or contempt of the theſis, at Louvain they condemned the ſeventy-ſix propoſitions in general, as being either abſolutely heretical, or approaching towards it. The divines of Louvain heſitated a little in receiving the bull. There was in it one ſentence, in which the poſition of a comma in one or two places, either condemned or tolerated ſome opinions of Michael Baius. The univerſity ſent deputies to Rome, to know of his holineſs where the comma muſt be placed. The court of Rome, which was then buſied in others affairs, ſent as an anſwer a copy of the bull, in which there was no comma. This bull was depoſited amongſt their records. Morillon, the grand vicar, ſaid the pope's bull ought to be received *even tho' it ſhould be erroneous.* Morillon was in the right, in regard to policy; for certainly it was better to receive a hundred erroneous bulls than to reduce a hundred towns to aſhes, as hap-

pened

pened in the quarrel betwixt the Hugonots and their adverſaries. Baius ſubmitted to Morillon, and recanted peaceably.

Some years after, Spain, no leſs fertile in ſcholaſtic authors than barren in good writers, produced Molina, a Jeſuit, who imagined he had perfectly diſcovered how God acts upon his creatures, and how they reſiſt his influence. He diſtinguiſhed natural and ſupernatural orders; predeſtination to grace, and predeſtination to glory; preventive and co-operating grace. He was the inventor of that ſuppoſed concurrence between intermediate ſcience and congruiſm, two very uncommon ideas. By the former, God conſults the human will, to diſcover what man will do when endowed wiih grace; and then, according to the uſe he foreſees a free agent is to make thereof, he forms his decrees to determine human agents; and theſe diſpoſitions make what is called congruity.

The Spaniſh Dominicans, who underſtood his explication as little as the Jeſuits, and were extremely jealous of them, affirmedin their writings, that Molina's book was the "forerunner "of Antichriſt."

The court of Rome took this diſpute into deliberation, which had already been before the higher eccleſiaſtical Judges, who very prudently enjoined ſilence to the two parties; but neither of them obeyed the decree.

They at laſt diſputed the affair warmly before Clement VIII; and to the reproach of human underſtanding. all Rome became a party in the cauſe. One Achilles Gaillard, a Jeſuit, aſſured the pope that he had certain means to reſtore peace to the church; and with an air of gravity he propoſed to accept of free predeſtination, on condition that the

the Dominicans admitted the intermediate science, and that they ſhould reconcile theſe two ſyſtems in the beſt manner they could. The Dominicans, however, would not agree to this propoſal of Achilles Gaillard. The famous Lemos maintained the immediate concurrence, and an accompliſhment thereof by active virtue. The congregations were increaſed by theſe diſputes, but nobody underſtood them.

Clement VIII died before he could bring the arguments on each ſide to a clear and determined ſenſe. Paul V reſumed the diſpute: but as he happened to have a more important affair with the republic of Venice, he diſſolved all the congregations which they then did, and ſtill do call *de Auxiliis*. They gave them this name, of itſelf as unintelligible as the points in diſpute, becauſe the word ſignifies aſſiſtance, and the controverſy turned upon the aſſiſtance which God gives to the weak will of mankind. Paul V finiſhed the affair, by ordering the two parties to live in peace.

Whilſt the Jeſuits eſtabliſhed their mediate ſcience and congruiſm, Cornelius Janſenius biſhop of Ypres, brought up again ſome notions of Baius, in a large volume on St. Auguſtin, which was not publiſhed till after his death; ſo that he became head of a ſect, without ever dreaming of ſuch an event. Very few read the book, which has cauſed ſo much diſturbance. But Du Verger de Haurane, abbot of St. Cyran, a friend of Janſenius, a man of a warm temper and a prolix as well as obſcure writer, came to Paris, and gained to his party ſeveral young doctors, and ſome old women. The Jeſuits demanded at Rome the condemnation of Janſenius'

ius's book, as containing nothing but the here-
cal doctrine of Baius, and obtained it in 1641.
But the faculty of divines at Paris, and all the
ogicians, were divided. It was, methinks,
aining nothing, to think with Janſenius, that
God commands impoſſibilities; this is neither
hiloſophical nor conſolatory. But the ſecret
leaſure of being in a party, hatred againſt the
Jeſuits, the deſire of making a figure, and reſt-
eſſneſs of mind, formed a ſect.

The faculty condemned five propoſitions of
Janſenius, by a majority of votes: theſe five
propoſitions were extracted out of the book very
faithfully, as to the ſenſe, but not as to the
words. Sixty doctors appealed to parliament,
and complained of an abuſe. The Chambre des
Vacations ſummoned the two parties to appear;
but they did not make their appearance. On
one ſide a doctor named Habert, inveighed
againſt the doctrine of Janſenius with great
warmth. On the other ſide, the famous Arnauld,
a diſciple of St. Cyran, defended Janſeniſm with
the moſt nervous eloquence. He hated the Je-
ſuits more than he loved efficacious grace, and
was ſtill more hated by them, as the ſon of a
man, who having been bred up to the bar, had
pleaded warmly for the univerſity againſt their
eſtabliſhment. His anceſtors had acquired great
reputation by the ſword, as well as the gown.
His genius and particular ſituation, determined
him to become a controverſial writer, and to
make himſelf head of a party; a kind of ambi-
tion, before which all others diſappear. He
carried on the controverſy againſt the Jeſuits and
the Proteſtants to his eightieth year. He pub-
liſhed no leſs than an hundred and four volumes,
of

of which there is hardly one that can be ranke amongſt thoſe claſſical books, which do hono to the age of Lewis XIV, and are depoſited i the libraries of different nations. All his work were in high vogue in his own time, from th reputation of the author, and that eagerneſs fo diſputes then ſo prevalent. People howeve grew more cool by degrees, and theſe books ar now entirely forgotten. Of all his writings none are now regarded but thoſe upon reaſon ing; ſuch as his treatiſe upon geometry, his ra tional grammar, and his logic, all which ſubject he very much ſtudied. No man had ever, per haps, a greater turn for philoſophical enquiries but his philoſophy was vitiated by that party ſpiri which hurried him away, and which, for ſixt years, involved a genius, formed to enlighte mankind, in ſcholaſtic diſputes, and all thoſ evils ſo ſtrongly connected with obſtinacy o opinion.

The univerſity was divided about theſe five fa mous propoſitions, as were likewiſe the biſhops Eighty-eight of the French biſhops wrote in body to Innocent X, intreating him to decide th affair; and eleven others wrote to his holineſs, t beg he would leave it undetermined. Innocent X took it into conſideration; he condemned eac of the five propoſitions ſeparately, but witho quoting the pages from whence they were ex tracted, nor what went before or followed.

This omiſſion, which would not have bee done in any civil affair at the loweſt court of ju dicature, was committed by the faculty of Sor bonne, by the Janſeniſts as well as Jeſuits, and b his holineſs. The ſenſe of the propoſition which were condemned, is plainly in Janſenius.

In

In the third volume, and page 138, of the Paris edition 1641, are theſe words: "Tout cela "démontre pleinement & evidemment, qu'il "n'eſt rien de plus certain & de plus fundamen- "tal dans la doctrine de Saint Auguſtin, qu'il y "a certains commandemens impoſſibiles, non "ſeulement aux infidéles, aux aveugles, aux "endurcis; mais aux fideles & aux juſtes, "malgré leurs volontés & leur efforts, ſelon les "forces qu'ils ont; & que la grace, qui peut "rendre ces commandemens poſſibles, leur "manque." "All this demonſtrates fully and "evidently, that there is nothing more certain "and more fundamental in the doctrine of St. "Auguſtin, than that there are ſome command- "ments impoſſible, not only to the unbelieving, "the blind, and hardened part of mankind, "but alſo to the faithful and righteous, not- "withſtanding their will and efforts, according "to the ſtrength they poſſeſs; and that grace, "which is able to render ſuch commandments "practicable, fails them." We may likewiſe read in page 165; "Que Jeſus Chriſt n'eſt pas, "ſelon Saint Auguſtin, mort pour tous les "hommes:" "That Jeſus Chriſt, according "to St. Auguſtin, did not die for all men."

Cardinal Mazarin obliged the aſſembly of the clergy unanimouſly to receive the pope's bull. He had then a very good underſtanding with his holineſs: he did not love the Janſeniſts, and he with reaſon hated all controverſies.

The church of France ſeemed now to be re- ſtored to peace: but the Janſeniſts wrote ſo much, ſo often quoted St. Auguſtin, and gained ſuch a number of female proſelytes, that after the

the bull was received there were more Janseniſts than ever.

A prieſt of St. Sulpice refuſed abſolution to Monſieur de Liancourt, becauſe it was reported that he did not believe the five propoſitions were not in Janſenius, and that he entertained heretics in his houſe. This was a new ſcandal, and furniſhed freſh matter for diſpute. Doctor Arnauld diſtinguiſhed himſelf in an epiſtle addreſſed to a real or fictitious peer; he maintained that the propoſitions which had been condemned, were not to be found in Janſenius, but that they were in St. Auguſtin and ſeveral other fathers. He added, "that St. Peter was a righteous "man, in whom grace, without which we can "do nothing, was wanting."

It is true, that St. Auguſtin and St. John Chryſoſtom had ſaid the ſame thing; but a word too much or one too little, and the circumſtances of the time which make an alteration in every thing, made Arnauld guilty. It was ſaid to be neceſſary to mix ſome water with the wine of the good fathers; for what is to one party a matter of ſerious concern, is to another the ſubject of mirth and pleaſantry.

The faculty was aſſembled, and chancellor Seguier took his place there, as the king's repreſentative. Arnauld was condemned and expelled the college of Sorbonne in 1654. The preſence of the chancellor amongſt the divines carried ſuch an air of deſpotic power, that it greatly diſpleaſed the public; and the care taken to fill the hall with monkiſh mendicant doctors, who had never before appeared there in ſuch numbers, made Paſcal ſay in his provincials, *qu'il etait plus aiſe de trouver des moines que de raiſons.*

aiſons. 'That it was much eaſier to find monks than arguments.'

Moſt of theſe monks did not admit of congruiſm, intermediate ſcience, nor the neceſſitating grace of Molina: but they maintained a ſufficient grace to which the will may conſent, tho' it never does; an efficacious grace which a man may, but never does reſiſt; and this they pretended to explain clearly, by ſaying that this grace might be reſiſted in the divided but not in the compound ſenſe.

Theſe ſublime theories are not perhaps altogether conſonant to human reaſon; and the notions of Arnauld and the Janſeniſts ſeem too much to agree with pure Calviniſm; for the controverſy between the Gomariſts and Arminians was juſt the ſame. Holland was divided by it, as France was by Janſeniſm. The affair however in Holland, became rather a political faction than a diſpute of mere theoriſts; and penſionary Barnewelt ſuffered on a ſcaffold upon this account. In France, it produced only edicts, bulls, lettres de cachet, and pamphlets; for there were then diſputes of much greater conſequence to ingroſs the attention of the kingdom.

Arnauld was then only excluded from the faculty. This ſlight perſecution procured him a number of friends; but he and the Janſeniſts had always the church and the pope againſt them. One of the firſt things done by Alexander VII, ſucceſſor to Innocent X, was to renew the cenſures on the five propoſitions. The biſhops of France, who had already drawn up a formulary, now framed one anew, in which were theſe expreſſions: "I condemn with my heart and

"mouth

" mouth the doctrine of the five propoſitions,
" contained in the book of Cornelius Janſenius,
" which is not the doctrine of St. Auguſtin, for
" Janſenius has perverted the meaning." This formula was now ſubſcribed as an article of faith; and the biſhops ſent it to all ſuſpected perſons in their dioceſes. They wanted likewiſe to to have it ſigned by all the nuns belonging to Port-royal of Paris, and Port-royal des Champs: theſe two houſes were the ſanctuary of Janſeniſm, for St. Cyren and Arnauld were the governors.

There was another religious houſe eſtabliſhed near the monaſtry of Port-royal des Champs; hither many learned and pious perſons had retired, ſtrongly prejudiced to their own opinions, and linked together by a conformity of ſentiments. There they educated ſome choſen youth, and here it was that Racine, the moſt correct and eloquent poet, received his education. Paſcal, the firſt of ſatiriſts, for Deſpreaux muſt be conſidered only as the ſecond, lived in great intimacy with theſe dangerous recluſes. The above formulary being preſented to the ladies of Port-royal de Paris and Port-royal des Champs, in order to be ſigned, they made anſwer, That they could not in conſcience avow with the pope and biſhops, that the five propoſitions were in Janſenius's book, which they had never read; that certainly his meaning had been miſtaken; and though the five propoſitions might be erroneous, yet that Janſenius might not be miſtaken.

Such obſtinacy exaſperated the court. Mr. d'Aubrai the lieutenant-civil (for there was not yet a lieutenant de police) went to Port-royal des Champs,

hamps, to root out the religious who had re-
red thither, and all their pupils likewiſe. They
reatned alſo to ſuppreſs the two monaſtries:
ut they were ſaved by a miracle.

Mademoiſelle Perrier, who belonged to the
unnery of Port-royal de Paris, niece to the fa-
ous Paſcal, had a diſorder in one of her eyes.
t her monaſtery, they happened to be perform-
g the ceremony of kiſſing a thorn of the crown
hich had been formerly put upon the head of
ur Saviour: this thorn had long been depoſited
Port-royal; but it is no eaſy matter to prove
ow it had been preſerved and conveyed from
eruſalem to the ſuburb of St. James. Amongſt
e reſt of the nuns, Paſcal's niece kiſſed the
orn; ſhe happened to recover of her diſorder
me time after, and upon this affirmed ſhe had
en inſtantly cured of a moſt dangerous fiſtula
chrymalis. This young woman did not die
l the year 1728, and ſeveral perſons who were
quainted with her, have aſſured me that it was
conſiderable time before her cure was effected,
hich is extremely probable: but it is far from
ing ſo, that the Divine being, who does not
ork miracles to convert three fourths of the
orld, to whom our religion is either unknown
r abhorred, ſhould break through the courſe of
ature, in favour of an inſignificant girl, and for
e ſake of a dozen female enthuſiaſts, who pre-
nded that Cornelius Janſenius did not write
ome lines which were imputed to him, or that
e had written them with a meaning different
om what was generally conceived.

The miracle, however, made ſo great a noiſe,
hat the Jeſuits durſt not deny it; the only courſe
hey could now follow, was to work miracles on
their

their ſide; but they were not regarded: for only thoſe of the Janſeniſts were then in faſhion. Some years after they wrought another miracle: one of the ſiſters at Port-royal, named Gertrude, was cured of a ſwelling in her leg. This prodigy, however, had not the deſired ſucceſs: the time was elapſed; and ſiſter Gertrude had not Paſcal for her uncle.

The Jeſuits, tho' they had the popes and kings on their ſide, yet they were decried by the people, who brought up afreſh againſt them all the antient ſtories of the aſſaſſination of Henry the great, contrived by Barriere, and executed by Chatel, one of their diſciples; the puniſhment of father Guiſcard, and their baniſhment from France and Venice; in ſhort, nothing was omitted that ſeemed likely to make them appear in the moſt odious colours. Paſcal went farther, and made them the ſubject of ridicule. His provincial letters, publiſhed at that time, may be conſidered as a model of eloquence and humour. The beſt comedies of Moliere have not more wit than the firſt part of theſe letters; and the ſublimity of the latter part of them, is equal to any thing in Boſſuet.

'Tis true indeed that the whole book was built upon a falſe foundation; for the extravagant notions of a few Spaniſh and Flemiſh Jeſuits were artfully aſcribed to the whole ſociety. Many abſurdities might likewiſe have been diſcovered amongſt the Dominican and Franciſcan caſuiſts; but this would not have anſwered the purpoſe, for the whole raillery was levelled only at the Jeſuits. Theſe letters were deſigned to prove that the Jeſuits had formed a deſign to corrupt mankind, a deſign which no ſect no

ſociet

ociety ever had, nor can have. But reaſon was ot the point, the only thing intended was to muſe the public.

The Jeſuits, who had then no good writer in heir party, could not turn off the ridicule thrown pon them by one of the beſt written books ever ubliſhed in France. But in theſe diſputes al-noſt the ſame thing happened to them as did ormerly to cardinal Mazarin. Monſieur le Blot, Marigni, and Barbançon had made all France augh at the cardinal's expence, though he was naſter of the kingdom.

The principal nuns were removed from the bby of Port-royal de Paris by 200 guards, and iſperſed into other convents: thoſe only were llowed to remain, who were willing to ſign the ormulary. All Paris became intereſted in this ffair. Siſter Perdreau and Siſter Paſſart, who ubſcribed this formulary, and got others to fol-w their example, were made the ſubject of ri-icule and humorous ſongs, with which the town as filled by a kind of indolent perſons, who ſee othing but the ridiculous ſide of things, and ho always make themſelves merry, whilſt ſin-ere believers are afflicted, adverſaries declaim, nd the government takes ſuch meaſures as ſeem roper.

The Janſeniſts gained ſtrength by perſecution. our prelates, Arnauld biſhop of Angers brother o the doctor, Buzenval of Beauvais, Pavillon f Alet, and Caulet of Pamiers, the ſame who fterwards oppoſed Lewis XIV in the affair of he *regale*, declared themſelves againſt the for-nulary. There was a new one compoſed by ope Alexander VII, alike in ſenſe to the for-ner, received in France by the biſhops and even

by the parliament. His holineſs being move with indignation, named nine French biſhop to commence a proceſs againſt the four who ha been refractory. Then it was, that the ſpiri of the two parties aroſe to a higher degree o animoſity than ever.

But when the diſpute was carried on with th utmoſt warmth, in order to know whether th five propoſitions were really in Janſenius or not Roſpiglioſi, who became pope under the nam of Clement IX, reſtored peace for ſome time He prevailed on the biſhops to ſign the formul *ſincerely*, inſtead of *purely* and *ſimply*. Thus i ſeemed allowed to believe, that tho' the five pro poſitions were condemned, they might not b extracted from Janſenius. The four biſhop gave likewiſe ſome ſmall explication thereupon the Italian complaiſance by this means allaye the French vivacity. A word ſubſtituted in plac of another, brought about this peace, which i called *the peace of Clement* IX, and even *the pea of the church*; though the whole animoſity ha only been about a diſpute either unknown or de ſpiſed by the other parts of Chriſtendom. Eve ſince the time of Baius, the popes had alway endeavoured to ſuppreſs theſe unintelligible con troverſies, and to bring the two parties to preac up morality, which every one underſtands: no thing ſeemed more agreeable to reaſon; but wh can account for the behaviour of weak mortals

The government ſet at liberty the Janſeniſt who had been confined in the Baſtile, and a mongſt the reſt Saci, author of a verſion of th teſtament. They likewiſe recalled from exil ſeveral religious females, who ſigned the formu la *ſincerely*, and believed they gained the victor by

by this expreſſion. Arnauld now came forth from his retreat, where he had been concealed, and was preſented to the king, kindly received by the pope's nuncio, and by the public eſteemed a father of the church. From that time he reſolved to enter the liſts only againſt the Calviniſts, for ſuch was his temper, that he muſt neceſſarily carry on war againſt ſome party or other. In this time of tranquillity he publiſhed his book intitled *La perpetuite de la foi*, in which he was aſſiſted by Nicole, and this gave riſe to that grand controverſy between them and Claud the miniſter, a controverſy in which each party, according to cuſtom, believed itſelf victorious.

The peace of Clement IX, having been given to ſuch reſtleſs turbulent ſpirits, proved but a ſhort truce. Secret cabals and intrigues were ſtill carried on, and groſs affronts were given on both ſides.

The dutcheſs of Longueville, ſiſter to the great Condé, ſo well known in the civil wars and ſo noted for her amours, being now old, and without any employment, became a votary to religion; and as ſhe hated the court and loved intrigue, ſhe turned Janſeniſt. She built a wing to the Port-royal de Champs, whither ſhe retired ſometimes with the religious. Then was their moſt flouriſhing time. Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maitre, Herman, Saci, and ſeveral other perſons, who, tho' leſs famous, had conſiderable merit and reputation, aſſembled at her houſe. Inſtead of that ſprightly wit diſplay'd by the dutcheſs de Longueville in the palace of Rambouillet, they ſubſtituted more ſolid converſation, ſupported with that ſtrong, nervous, and animated ſenſe,

which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed their writings and diſcourſes. They contributed not a little to diffuſe true taſte and eloquence in France; but unfortunately they were more zealous to ſpread their opinions. They themſelves ſeemed to be a proof of the doctrine of fatality, with which they were reproached. They maintained they were conſtrained by an irriſiſtable determination to draw upon themſelves perſecution for mere chimerical notions, when they might have acquired conſiderable reputation, and enjoyed a happy tranquillity, by renouncing theſe frivolous diſputes.

The Jeſuits being provoked by the provincial letters, practiſed every art they could deviſe againſt the oppoſite party. Madam de Longueville being no longer able to form any cabal in favour of the anti-courtiers, uſed all her efforts for Janſeniſm, and accordingly there were frequent meetings of that ſect in Paris, ſometimes at her houſe, and often at Arnauld's. The king, who had already reſolved to extirpate Calviniſm, did not chooſe to ſee a new ſect ariſe. He threatened the party; and at laſt Arnauld dreading enemies armed with ſovereign authority, and being deprived of the ſupport of Madam Longueville, who was dead, reſolved to quit France for ever; and go to live in the Netherlands, unknown, without fortune, and without domeſtics. His nephew had been miniſter of ſtate, and he himſelf might have been a cardinal, but the pleaſure of writing with freedom, ſeemed to him preferable to every other thing. He lived to the year 1694, in a retreat obſcure to the world, and known only to his friends, always writing, always ſupporting the character of a philoſopher,

philoſopher, ſuperior to his adverſe fortune, and to his laſt moments giving an illuſtrious example of purity, reſolution and unſhaken conſtancy.

His party was always perſecuted in the catholic Netherlands, called the country of *obedience*, where the pope's bulls are ſovereign laws; and they were ſtill more harraſſed in France.

One thing very extraordinary is, that the queſtion, "whether the five propoſitions were really in Janſenius?" was always the only pretence for theſe little civil broils. The diſtinction of *de facto*, and *de jure* was now introduced: in 1701 they propoſed a theological queſtion which was called *le cas de conſcience par excellence*, "Whether the ſacrament could be given to a man, "who, though he ſigned the formula, believed "in his heart, that the pope, and even the "church, might be miſtaken in facts?" Forty doctors atteſted with their hands that abſolution might be given to ſuch a perſon.

Upon this the controverſy was renewed. The pope and biſhops inſiſted they ſhould be believed *de facto*. The archbiſhop of Paris, Noailles, determined that we ſhould believe the divine faith *de jure*, and human faith *de facto*. Some others, and among theſe Fenelon, the archbiſhop of cambray, not ſatisfied with the explication of Noailles, demanded divine faith for the fact. It would have been better perhaps to have turned to the book itſelf, and cited the paſſages, but this was never done.

Pope Clement XI, in 1705, gave a bull called *vineam domini*, by which he enjoined a belief *de facto*, without explaining whether it was of a divine or human faith.

It was a new cuſtom introduced into the churc hto make women belonging to the abbeys ſign theſe bulls. This reſpect was again paid to thoſe of Port-royal de Champs; and cardinal Noailles was obliged to carry it to them to procure their atteſtation. They ſigned it without detracting any thing from the peace of Clement IX, and confining themſelves to a reſpectful ſilence in regard to the caſe *de facto*.

We hardly know which to conſider as moſt extraordinary; whether the confeſſion inſiſted on from the nuns, that the five propoſitions were contained in a Latin book, or their obſtinate refuſal.

The king ſollicited a bull from the pope for the ſuppreſſion of their monaſtery. Cardinal de Noailles declared them incapable of giving or receiving the ſacraments, and their advocate was confined in the Baſtile. All the nuns were removed, and each of them put into ſeparate convents that were leſs refractory. The lieutenant de police in 1709 ordered their houſe to be demoliſhed, and in 1711 all the bodies in the church-yard, and within the church were removed from thence, and interred elſewhere. The troubles, however, did not end with this monaſtery. The Janſeniſts were ſtill for preſerving the ſpirit of cabal, and the Jeſuits deſired ſtill to appear neceſſary.

Father Quenel, a prieſt of the oratory, an intimate friend of the celebrated Arnauld, and who accompanied him in his retreat to his laſt moments, in 1671, had compoſed a book of pious reflections on the text of the new teſtament.

This book contained ſome maxims which appeared favourable to Janſeniſm; but theſe were joined

oined with such a multitude of pious sentiments, nd so abounded in that soft persuasion which wins the heart, that the work was received with universal approbation. The beauties of this book appeared every where evident, and the faults were difficult to be found. Several bishops bestowed high encomiums on the piece, when imperfect, which they repeated and confirmed in the strongest manner, when the author had finished it. I know for certain, that the abbe Renaudot, one of the most learned men in France, being at Rome the first year of Clement XI's pontificate, went one day to wait upon this pope, who loved men of letters, and was himself a man of learning, and found him reading father Quenel's book. "This is (said "his holiness) an excellent performance: we "have no one at Rome capable of writing in "this manner; I wish I could have the author "near me." Yet this very pope afterwards condemned the book.

We must not, however, look upon these encomiums of Clement XI, and the condemnation which followed afterwards, as a contradiction. Any one may at the first reading be struck with the beauties of a work, and yet afterwards condemn the faults, which before escaped notice. The prelate in France who shewed the strongest and most sincere approbation of this book, was cardinal de Noailles, archbishop of Paris. He declared himself the patron of it when bishop of Chalons, and the book was dedicated to him. The cardinal was no less eminent for his learning, than the many virtues he possessed: he was a person of the sweetest and most peaceable disposition; he protected several

the Janſeniſts, tho' not of their perſuaſion; and tho' he had no great affection for the Jeſuits, yet he was neither prejudicial to them, nor feared them.

The power of the Jeſuits became formidable, when father de la Chaiſe, having the conſcience of Lewis XIV at his diſpoſal, was in effect the head of the Gallican church. Father Quenel, dreading their power, had retired to Bruſſels with the learned benedictin Gerberon, a prieſt named Brigode, and ſeveral others of the ſame party. After the death of Arnauld, he became the head of the Janſeniſts, and like him enjoyed the pleaſing glory of eſtabliſhing himſelf in a ſovereignty independent of princes, of reigning over conſciences, and being the ſoul of a party compoſed of the brighteſt geniuſes. The Jeſuits being more powerful and prevalent, ſoon diſturbed Quenel in his ſolitude. They perſecuted him with Philip V, who was ſovereign of the Low Countries, as they had before done Arnauld his maſter with Lewis XIV. They obtained an order from the king of Spain to ſeize theſe religious exiles. Quenel was accordingly put in priſon in the archbiſhopric of Mechlin. A gentleman, who believed he ſhould greatly raiſe himſelf by means of the Janſeniſts, if he delivered their chief, broke thro' the walls, by which means Quenel having made his eſcape, fled to Amſterdam, where he died in 1719, in an extreme old age, after having ſettled ſome Janſeniſt churches in Holland: however, the ſect was weak, and dwindled daily.

When Quenel was ſeized, they alſo ſecured all his papers, in which were found all the diſtinguiſhing ſigns of a formed party. There was a copy

a copy of an antient contract made by the Janſeniſts with Antonetta Bourignon, the celebrated fanatic, a woman of great wealth, who, in the name of her confeſſor, had purchaſed the iſle of Nordſtrand, near Holſtein, as a place of reſidence for thoſe whom ſhe deſigned to aſſociate into a new myſtical ſect, which ſhe intended to eſtabliſh.

This Bourignon had printed at her expence nineteen large volumes of pious reveries, and had expended half of her fortune to make proſelytes. However, ſhe ſucceeded in nothing but rendering herſelf ridiculous, and had even ſuffered perſecution, which is the conſequence of every innovation. At laſt, deſpairing to make any ſettlement in her iſle, ſhe ſold it again to the Janſeniſts; but they were alſo unable to form any eſtabliſhment there.

Amongſt the manuſcrips of Quenel, there was diſcovered a project of a more criminal nature, had it not been extravagantly fooliſh. Lewis XIV, in 1684, having ſent the count d'Avaux into Holland, to grant a truce of twenty years to all the powers willing to accept of it, the Janſeniſts, under the name of *the diſciples of St. Auguſtine*, had intended to get themſelves included in this treaty, as if they were a party as conſiderable as the Calviniſts had been ſo long. This chimerical ſcheme, however, was not carried into execution; tho' at laſt the propoſitions of a peace between the Janſeniſts and the king of France had been drawn up in writing. By this project, they had certainly a deſign to make themſelves too conſiderable: this was ſufficient to render them culpable; and Lewis XIV was eaſily perſuaded that they were a dangerous party.

Had his majeſty been properly inſtructed, he would have known that empty, ſpeculative notions would vaniſh of themſelves, when left to take their natural courſe; and to treat them as matters of conſequence, was paying them a reſpect they did not deſerve.

It was no difficult matter to make father Quenel's book appear culpable, after the author had been treated as a ſeditious perſon. The Jeſuits prevailed on the king himſelf to petition for the condemnation of this book at Rome. This was in fact procuring the condemnation of cardinal Noailles, who had been the moſt zealous defender of that work. They flattered themſelves, and not without reaſon, that pope Clement XI would embrace this opportunity to mortify the archbiſhop of Paris. Here it may not be unneceſſary to take notice, that when Clement XI was only cardinal Albani, he publiſhed a book entirely on the Moliniſt principles, written by his friend cardinal de Sfrondate, and that Mr. de Noailles had condemned it as heretical. It was therefore natural to think, that Albani, being now pope, would make repriſals, by paſſing ſentence of condemnation on Quenel's production, upon which Noailles had laviſhed ſo many encomiums.

Nor were they deceived in their expectations; for Clement XI, in 1708, publiſhed a decree againſt Quenel's performance: but the ſituation of ſtate affairs at that time, prevented this ſpiritual affair from having the expected ſucceſs. The court was piqued at Clement XI, who had acknowledged the archduke Charles for king of Spain, after having acknowledged Philip V. The validity of the decree was objected againſt,

and

and it was rejected in France. These controverſies lay dormant till the death of father de la Chaiſe, the king's confeſſor, a man of a ſweet temper, who always endeavoured to promote peace and harmony, and who always preſerved a good underſtanding with cardinal de Noailles, and his relation madam de Maintenon.

The Jeſuits had a right to appoint the king a confeſſor, as well as almoſt all the other Catholic princes in Europe. This privilege belongs to their order, from the nature of their inſtitution, by which they renounce all eccleſiaſtical dignities: thus what their founder eſtabliſhed thro' humility, is become the means of grandeur. The more Lewis XIV advanced in age, the more important was the office of confeſſor. The perſon promoted to this honour was father le Tellier, ſon to a lawyer of Vire in the Lower Normandy, a gloomy, fiery, vehement and inflexible mortal, who had many private injuries to revenge. The Janſeniſts had got one of his books on the Chineſe ceremonies condemned at Rome. He had likewiſe a perſonal quarrel with cardinal de Noailles: he knew not how to manage any affair with moderation, and ſoon raiſed diſturbances in the whole church of France. In 1711 he drew up circular letters and mandates, to be ſigned by the biſhops. Theſe ſecret practices, however, were ſoon diſcovered, but the ſucceſs of them not prevented.

The king's conſcience was as much alarmed by his confeſſor, as his authority ſeemed to be ſtruck at by a rebellious faction. Cardinal Noailles in vain demanded of his majeſty juſtice for *theſe myſteries of iniquity*. The confeſſor perſuaded him, that he made uſe of human means to bring

bring about things of a divine nature; and as indeed he defeated the papal authority, and the unity of the church, the whole affair had a favourable appearance. The cardinal applied likewiſe to the duke of Burgundy, but found him preposſeſſed by the letters and friends of the archbiſhop of Cambray. The beſt of men are ſubject to human frailties. Fenelon was not yet philoſopher enough to forget that cardinal Noailles had contributed to have him cenſured; and Quenel ſuffered then for madam Guinon.

The cardinal did not ſucceed better from the intereſt of madam de Maintenon. This affair alone may be ſufficient to diſplay the true character of that lady, who had but few ſentiments of her own, and made it her ſole ſtudy to conform to thoſe of the king. A few lines of hers to cardinal Noailles, will enable us to form a judgment of her, and of the intrigue of father le Tellier, and will ſerve likewiſe to ſhew us the king's ſentiments on this occaſion, and give us a juſt idea of the preſent affair. "You are ſuffi-
"ciently acquainted with me (ſaid ſhe in her
"letter) to know my private opinion on the
"late diſcovery; but I have many reaſons to
"reſtrain me from ſpeaking. It is not my buſi-
"neſs to judge or to condemn: I muſt be ſi-
"lent, and pray for the church, for the king,
"and you. I have delivered your letter to his
"majeſty, and it has been read: this is all I can
"ſay to you about it, being oppreſſed with ſor-
"row."

The cardinal archbiſhop, being thus injuriouſly treated by a Jeſuit, took away the power of preaching and confeſſing from all the Jeſuits in France,

France, excepting only a few of the moſt moderate and diſcreet. By his place he had likewiſe a right, tho' a dangerous one, to hinder le Tellier from confeſſing the king: but he durſt not venture to irritate his ſoverign to ſuch a degree, and he left him reſpectfully in the hands of his enemy. "I am afraid" (ſaid he in a letter to madam Maintenon) "that I ſhew too abject a "ſubmiſſion to the king, by leaving him in the "power of one ſo unworthy ſuch a truſt. I "pray God may open his eyes, that he may ſee "the danger he is in, by intruſting his ſoul to a "man of ſuch a character."

'Tis mentioned in ſeveral hiſtories, that father le Tellier ſaid, that he muſt either loſe his place, or the cardinal muſt fall. 'Tis not unlikely that he thought ſo; but it is highly improbable that he ſhould thus expreſs himſelf. When two parties are heated with animoſity, both often take dangerous ſteps.

The partiſans of father le Tellier, and the biſhops who aſpired at a cardinalſhip, endeavoured all to make uſe of the royal authority to blow up theſe ſparks of ſedition, which might have been ſo eaſily extinguiſhed. Inſtead of imitating Rome, which had ſeveral times impoſed ſilence on the two parties; inſtead of reſtraining the ſeditious Jeſuit, and properly adviſing the cardinal; inſtead of prohibiting theſe controverſies in the ſame manner as duels, and thereby making the clergy uſeful as well as the nobility, without being dangerous: in ſhort, inſtead of bearing down the two parties by the weight of ſovereign authority, ſupported by reaſon and by all the magiſtrates, Lewis XIV took a quite different courſe; he himſelf ſolicited Rome for an open declaration

declaration of war, and procured the famous conſtitution, which filled the remainder of his reign with trouble and affliction.

Father le Tellier and his party ſent to Rome an hundred and three propoſitions to be condemned, of which the holy office found an hundred and one heretical. This bull, which was given in 1713, raiſed a flame throughout the whole kingdom. The king had demanded it in order to prevent a ſchiſm, which, on the contrary, it ſeemed likely to produce. A general clamour prevailed; becauſe among thoſe propoſitions, there were ſeveral which appeared to carry the moſt innocent meaning. There was a numerous aſſembly of biſhops held at Paris on this occaſion: forty accepted the bull, for the ſake of peace: but at the ſame time they qualified it with certain explications, to quiet the ſcruples of the public. The direct and unreſerved acceptation was ſent to the pope, and the interpretations thereupon were reſerved for the people. By this means they thought to ſatisfy at once the pope, the king, and the people. But cardinal de Noailles, and ſeven other biſhops of the aſſembly, refuſed both the bull and the explications: they wrote to the pope, and requeſted to have theſe favourable explanations from his holineſs himſelf. This was offering him an affront with an appearance of reſpect. The king, however, prevented, for he would not ſuffer the letter to be ſent; and he ordered the biſhops to their dioceſes, and forbad Noailles to appear at court. This perſecution of the archbiſhop increaſed his reputation with the public. The ſeven other biſhops again joined him. There was now a real diviſion in the hierarchy

among

amongſt all the clergy, as well as the religious orders. Every body allowed, that the diſpute was not about the fundamentals of religion; yet a civil diſſention was raiſed in peoples minds, and carried on with as much heat as if Chriſtianity itſelf had been in danger; and as many ſprings of policy were put in motion on both ſides, as in the moſt profane of civil affairs.

Every art was uſed to get the conſtitution received by the college of Sorbonne. A majority of votes were againſt it, yet it was regiſtered there. The miniſtry could not, without difficulty, procure the letters de catchet which were neceſſary to confine or baniſh thoſe who proved refractory.

This bull had likewiſe been regiſtered in parliament, always however reſerving the ordinary rights of the crown, and the privileges of the Gallican church, with the power and juriſdiction of the biſhops; but the voice of the public always diſclaimed an obedience to this papal decree. Cardinal Biſſi, one of its moſt ſtrenuous defenders, declared in one of his letters, that it could not have met with greater indignity at Geneva, than it had received at Paris.

The public animoſity was greateſt againſt father le Tellier. Nothing is more apt to raiſe our indignation, than to ſee a religious perſon aſſume too much of civil power; it ſeems a violation of his vows; but if he abuſes this power, he is utterly deteſted. Le Tellier preſumed ſo much on his influence, that he even propoſed the depoſing of cardinal de Noailles, in a national council. Thus he made his king, his penitent, and his religion, ſerve to gratify his reſentment: and yet I have ſtrong reaſons to believe, that he was

an

an honeſt, well-meaning man: ſo much are men apt to be blinded with zeal and prejudice for their opinions.

In order to prepare this council, which was to depoſe a man become the idle of Paris and of the whole kingdom, by the purity of his morals, his amiable character, and more ſtill by his perſecution; they prevailed on Lewis XIV. to order a declaration to be regiſtered in parliament, by which every biſhop, who had not received the bull *purely and ſimply*, ſhould be obliged to ſubſcribe it, and that every one who refuſed to do ſo, ſhould be proſecuted as a rebel by the advocate-general. Chancellor Voiſin, ſecretary at war, a rigid and arbitrary man, had drawn up this edict. D'Agueſſeau, the advocate-general, much better verſed in the laws of the realm than Voiſin, and having that courage which youth naturally inſpires, peremptorily refuſed to undertake this affair. The preſident of the council remonſtrated to the king likewiſe, and pointed out the conſequences of ſuch a proceeding. The affair was thus protracted. The king was at this time extremely ill, and theſe unhappy diſputes greatly troubled him, and haſtened his end. His mercileſs confeſſor ſtill continued to harraſs him in his languid condition, by repeated exhortations to conſummate a work, which would not have endeared his memory. The king's domeſtics twice refuſed him acceſs to his chamber, and at laſt earneſtly conjured him not to ſpeak to his majeſty about the conſtitution. Soon after, Lewis XIV, died, and the whole face of affairs was changed.

The duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, having at once changed the whole form of Lewis XIV's

XIV's government, and having ſettled councils in the offices of the ſecretaries of ſtate, erected likewiſe a council of conſcience, and made cardinal de Noailles the preſident. They baniſhed father le Tellier, hated by the public, and even not beloved by his own fraternity.

The biſhops who oppoſed the bull, appealed to a future council, which was never held. The Sorbonne, the clergy of the dioceſe of Paris, and whole bodies of the religious orders, appealed likewiſe; and at laſt cardinal Noailles made his appeal in 1717; but he did not at firſt intend to publiſh it; however, it was printed contrary to his inclination. The church of France remained divided into two parties, the *Acceptants*, and *Recuſants*: the former conſiſted of an hundred biſhops, who had united themſelves, under Lewis XIV, with the Jeſuits and Capuchins: the latter was compoſed of fifteen biſhops, and the whole nation in general. The Acceptants prevailed at Rome; the Recuſants had the univerſities, the parliament, and the people on their ſide: Volume upon volume, and letter upon letter was printed, and each party reproached the other as ſchiſmatics and heretics.

An archbiſhop of Rheims, named Maille, a great and ſucceſsful partiſan of Rome, had ſubſcribed his name to two papers which the parliament ordered to be burned by the hangman. The archbiſhop having been informed of this, ordered *Te Deum* to be ſung, to thank God for having being thus injuriouſly treated by ſchiſmatics. God rewarded him, and he was made a cardinal. The biſhop of Soiſſons attempted to treat the parliament with equal contempt: he ſignified

to

to this assembly, "that it did not belong to "them to judge even in cases of high treason." He was condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand livres. The regent, however, remitted the mulct, lest, said he, Soissons should be made a cardinal also.

The court of Rome vented itself in reproaches; much time was spent in negotiations; they appealed and re-appealed, and all this upon a few passages now forgot; of a book written by a priest in his 80th year, who lived on charity at Amsterdam.

The extravagant project concerning the funds, contributed, more than was imagined, to restore peace to the church. The whole nation engaged with so much eagerness in the publick stocks; and the avarice of mankind, attracted by the prospect of immense gain, became so prevalent, that those who still continued to talk about Jansenism or the bull, could find no-body to give the least attention. They were as little regarded, as the war carried on in the frontiers of Spain. The immense fortunes so suddenly made at that juncture, and luxury and volumptuousness carried to the highest excess, made all the ecclesiastical disputes cease: thus pleasure did what Lewis XIV. could not effect.

The duke of Orleans seized this occasion to reunite the church of France. In this his policy was interested; for he dreaded the having against him Rome, Spain, and an hundred bishops.

He was to prevail on cardinal Noailles, not only to receive the constitution, which he looked upon as scandalous, but also to withdraw his appeal, which he esteemed lawful. He must obtain more of him than his benefactor Lewis XIV. ha

ad in vain demanded. The duke of Orleans ad reaſon to expect great oppoſition from the arliament, which he had baniſhed to Pontoiſe. et, notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, he gained is point. *A body of doctrine* was compoſed, hich partly ſatisfied both parties; and a proiſe was procured from the cardinal that he would t laſt accept it. The duke went himſelf to the rand council, with the princes of the blood nd nobles, to get an edict regiſtered, which enoined acceptance of the bull, ſuppreſſion of all ppeals, peace and unanimity. The parliament, hich had been mortified by edicts being carried o the grand council, which it belonged to them o paſs, and being alſo threatened to be removd from Pontoiſe to Blois, regiſtered what had aſſed in the council; but always with the cuſomary reſervations, that is, the preſervation of he privileges of the Gallican church, and the ws of the realm.

The cardinal archbiſhop, who had promiſed o retract when the parliament ſhould obey, was ow neceſſitated to keep his promiſe. The inrument of his recantation was publiſhed the oth of Auguſt 1720.

Dubois, the new archbiſhop of Cambray, ſon o an apothecary of Brive la Gillard, aftewards cardinal and prime miniſter, had the greateſt and in this affair, in which the power of Lewis ad failed. The ſentiments, morals and behaiour of this miniſter are well known. The diſolute Dubois overcame the pious Noailles.

It may be remembered by ſeveral, with what contempt the duke of Orleans and his miniſtry poke of the diſputes which they appeaſed, and what

what ridicule they threw upon this controverſial quarrel.

This method of treating thoſe diſputes, contributed not a little to the reſtoring of peace. People grew at laſt tired of ſuch conteſts, as afforded the world a ſubject of laughter and ridicule.

From this time, all that was known in France by the name of Janſeniſm, Quietiſm, as well as all the controverſies about theological points and bulls, gradually declined. Some biſhops who had appealed, remained obſtinately attached to their opinions.

Under the miniſtry of cardinal Fleury, they wanted to extirpate the remains of the party, by depoſing one of the moſt ſtubborn prelates. They fixed for an example, old *Soanin*, biſhop of Senes, a man equally pious and inflexible, but of no family nor influence.

He was condemed by the little provincial council of Ambrun in 1728, ſuſpended from his office of biſhop and prieſt, and baniſhed by the court to Auvergne, when above eighty years old. This rigour occaſioned ſome fruitleſs complaints. There is not at preſent any nation which murmurs more, obeys better, and forgets ſooner than the French.

Some remains of fanaticiſm ſtill ſubſiſted amongſt a ſmall number of the people in Paris. Certain enthuſiaſts imagined, that a deacon named *Paris*, brother of a counſellor in parliament, one who had appealed and re-appealed, who lay buried in the church-yard of St. Medard, was to perform miracles. Some of the party, who went to pray upon his tomb, had their imagination ſo worked upon, that their diſordered or-

gans

ans produced ſlight convulſions. Upon this, rowds of people flocked to the tomb both day nd night. Thoſe who aſcended the tomb ſhook hemſelves, and took this for inward motions. The ſecret ſticklers for the party encouraged this renzy. They prayed at the tomb in the vulgar anguage, and now nothing was talked of but he deaf hearing, the blind ſeeing, and the lame aving walked upright for ſome moments. The overnment left this epidemical diſtemper for a onth to itſelf; but the concourſe of people rowing greater and greater, and the miracles creaſing, they were at laſt obliged to ſhut up he church-yard, and place guards there; theſe nthuſiaſts then went to work their miracles in ouſes. This tomb of the deacon of Paris was effect that of Janſeniſm, in the opinion of all nſible perſons. Theſe farces would have had rious conſequences in more ignorant times, t thoſe who encouraged them ſeemed ignorant the age in which they lived.

The ſuperſtition, however, was carried ſo far, at a counſellor of parliament had the madneſs preſent the king with a collection of theſe mi-cles, atteſted by a conſiderable number of evi-nces. If all other books were loſt, and this nly was to remain, poſterity would imagine at this age was the moſt ignorant and barbarous f all others.

Theſe extravagancies were in France, the ex-ring ſighs of a ſect, which being no longer ſup-orted by an Arnauld, a Paſcal, nor a Nicole, ll into utter contempt.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

Of QUIETISM.

AMIDST the factions of Calviniſm, an the controverſies of the Janſeniſts, ther happened another diviſion in France upon Quiet iſm: an unhappy conſequence of the progreſs o the human genius in the age of Lewis XIV, tha it excited efforts to go beyond the limits of ou knowledge; or rather perhaps, it was a proo that farther advances were to be made.

The controverſy about Quietiſm is one o thoſe extravagancies of imagination and theolo gical ſubtilities, the memory of which woul have been utterly obliterated among mankin had it not been for the names of two illuſtrio rival diſputants. A woman of no credit, n underſtanding, who had only an overheated ima gination, ſet by the ears two of the greateſt m in the church. This woman was Bouvieres la Motte. Her family was originally of Monta gis. She had been married to the ſon of t undertaker of the canal of Briaire: but being le a widow in the bloom of youth, with gre wealth, beauty, and a temper formed for t commerce of the world, ſhe became poſſeſſ with what was called *ſpirituality*. A Barnabite Geneva, one La Combe, was her director. Th man, noted for what is common enough, a me ly of paſſions and religion, and who died diſtrac ed, filled the brain of his penitent with myſti reveries, which ſhe had before begun to imbi The ſtrong deſire of being a S. Thereſia in Franc prevented her from ſeeing the vaſt differen

hetwe

between the genius of the French and Spaniards, and made her even proceed farther than Thereſia. The ambition of gaining diſciples, the ſtrongeſt perhaps of any ſpecies of ambition, intirely took poſſeſſion of her heart.

She and her confeſſor went into that ſmall territory where the titular biſhop of Geneva reſides. She gained conſiderable authority there by her extenſive charity, and held ſeveral meetings. She preached up an intire ſelf renunciation, the tranquillity of the ſoul, and the annihilation of all its faculties, inward worſhip, and pure diſintereſted love, ſuch as is neither moved by fear nor animated by the hope of reward.

Tender and flexible imaginations, eſpecially thoſe of women, and ſome young eccleſiaſtics, who rather loved than believed ſuch doctrines from the mouth of a fine woman, were eaſily touched with an eloquence of words, the only thing neceſſary to perſuade minds favourably diſpoſed. She made proſelytes, but was driven away by the biſhop, together with her confeſſor. They went thence to Grenoble, where ſhe publiſhed a little piece intitled *Le moien court*, *The ſhort way*, and another under the name of *Torrens*, both penned in the ſame ſtyle ſhe preached: but ſhe was ſoon obliged to retire from Grenoble.

Pleaſed already with the thoughts of being ranked amongſt the number of holy confeſſors, ſhe had a viſion, and prophecied. She ſent her prophecy to father La Combe. "All hell, "(ſaid ſhe) ſhall unite to ſtop the progreſs of "the inward ſpirit and the formation of Jeſus "Chriſt in ſouls. The ſtorm ſhall be ſuch, "that not one ſtone ſhall remain upon another; "and I foreſee that throughout the whole earth,

"there

" there will be troubles, wars and revolutions.
" Woman ſhall be pregnant with the inward
" ſpirit, and the ſerpent ſhall ſtand up before
" her."

The prediction was verified; for upon her return with father La Combe to Paris, where both endeavoured to ſpread their tenets in 1687, De Chanvallon, archbiſhop of Harlai, obtained an order from the king to confine La Combe as a ſeducer, and to ſhut up in a convent Madam Guion as a perſon of a diſordered mind. But madam Guion, before this, had gained ſuch intereſt, as now proved of ſervice to her. In the palace of St. Cyr, then only in its infancy, ſhe had a couſin named madam de la Maiſon Forte, a favourite of madam Maintenon. She had likewiſe gained the good graces of the ducheſſes of Chevreuſe and Beauvilliers. All theſe friends complained loudly, that the archbiſhop of Harlai, noted as to his paſſion for women, ſhould perſecute one for preaching up the love of God.

By the powerful intereſt of madam Maintenon the archbiſhop was ſilenced, and madam Guion reſtored to liberty. She then went to Verſailles, and was admitted into St. Cyr, where, after having dined with madam Maintenon and another perſon, ſhe made one at the religious meeting held by the abbot of Fenelon. The princeſs of Harcourt, with the ducheſſes of Chevreuſe, Beauvilliers and Charot, belonged alſo to this pious ſociety.

The abbot Fenelon, then preceptor to the children of France, was the moſt charming man belonging to the court. He had naturally a tender heart, with a ſweet and lively imagination, and his mind had been cultivated with letters

letters. He was a man of taſte, had many amiable qualities, and preferred the affecting and ſublime in divinity, to what was gloomy and difficult. Beſides, he had a certain romantic turn of mind, which inſpired him, not with the reveries of madam Guion, but with ſuch ideas of ſpirituality, as were not very unlike thoſe of that lady.

His imagination was heated with candour and virtue, as others are inflamed by their paſſions. He loved God purely for himſelf. He ſaw in madam Guion, a ſoul fraught with the ſame notions as his own, and therefore without any hesitation united with her. It was ſtrange that he ſhould be thus led away by a woman who pretended to reveal myſteries, to propheſy, and other jargon; who confounded inward grace, as neceſſary to be given up; who diveſted (as ſhe ſaid) herſelf of all ſuperabundance of grace, in order the more to encreaſe her religious votaries. But Fenelon, in his friendſhip and myſtical notions, was as a perſon in love: he excuſed the errors, and became attached to that conformity of ſentiments with which he had been taken.

Madam Guion, elevated and emboldened by the acquiſition of ſuch a diſciple, whom ſhe called her ſon, and reckoning likewiſe upon madam Maintenon, propagated her notions in St. Cyr. Godet, biſhop of Chartres, in whoſe dioceſe St. Cyr is, was alarmed and complained loudly. The archbiſhop of Paris threatened again to renew his former proceeding.

Madam Maintenon intending St. Cyr for a peaceable abode, knowing likewiſe how much the king was an enemy to all novelty, having no occaſion to put herſelf at the head of a ſect

to gain influence, and in ſhort having her own credit and repoſe only in view, ſhe broke off all commerce with madam Guion, and diſcharged her from St. Cyr.

The abbot de Fenelon ſaw the ſtorm gathering, and was afraid of being diſappointed of the great employments which he aſpired at. He therefore adviſed his female friend to put herſelf in the hands of the famous Boſſuet biſhop of Meaux, who was eſteemed a father of the church. She accordingly ſubmitted herſelf to the deciſions of this prelate, and after having received the ſacrament from him, ſhe gave up all her writings to his examination.

The biſhop of Meaux, by the king's permiſſion, named, as aſſiſtants in this affair, the biſhop of Chalons, afterwards cardinal de Noailles, and the abbot Tronſon ſuperior of St. Sulpice. They had a private meeting at the village of Iſſi, near Paris. Chanvallon archbiſhop of Paris, piqued that any other perſon ſhould ſet themſelves up as judges in his dioceſe, immediately paſſed a public cenſure on the books they examined. Madam Guion retired to the city of Meaux itſelf, ſhe ſubſcribed to all Boſſuet demanded, and promiſed to dogmatiſe no more.

Mean while Fenelon was promoted to the archbiſhoprick of Cambray in 1695, and conſecrated by the biſhop of Meaux. One would have imagined, that the late affair, being now dormant, and having been only the ſubject of ridicule, would never be revived. But madam Guion being accuſed of continuing to utter her doctrines after ſhe had promiſed ſilence, was ſeized by order of the king in the ſame year 1695, and confined in priſon at Vincennes, as if ſhe had

ad been a perſon dangerous to the ſtate. She ould not poſſibly be ſo; and her pious fren-ies did not merit the ſovereign's attention. At incennes ſhe compoſed a large volume of yſtic poetry, more wretched even than her roſe. She wrote parodies upon verſes out of peras, and often repeated the following lines:

L'amour pur et parfait va plus loin
qu'on ne penſe:
On ne ſait pas, lorſqu'il commence,
Tout ce qu'il doit coûter un jour.
Mon cœur n'aurait connu Vincennes ni
ſouffrance,
S'il n'eut connu le pur amour.

The opinions of mankind depend chiefly upon me, place, and circumſtances. While madam uion was kept in priſon, who in one of her enzies had ſuppoſed herſelf married to Jeſus hriſt, and from that time never invoked the ints, ſaying, that the miſtreſs of the family ught not to addreſs herſelf to her domeſtics; at is time, I ſay, they canonized Marie d'Agreda Rome, who had had more viſions and reve-ations than all the myſtics together; and as a rther inſtance of thoſe contradictions in which he world ſo much abounds, at the Sorbonne ey proſecuted as a heretic this very d'Agreda, hom they deſired to canonize in Spain.

Boſſuet, who had for a conſiderable time ooked upon himſelf as the father and maſter of enelon, became jealous of the credit and re-putation of his diſciple; and wanting always to reſerve that aſcendant he had over all his bre-hren, demanded of the new archbiſhop of Cam-

bray, that he ſhould join with him in condemning madam Guion, and ſubſcribe his paſtoral letters. Fenelon, however, would not ſacrifice to him neither his friend nor his ſentiments. Conceſſions were propoſed, and mutual promiſes made. Each accuſed the other of breach of faith. The archbiſhop of Cambray, when he departed for his dioceſe, printed at Paris, his *Maxims of the ſaints*; a work in which he endeavoured to obviate all that was objected againſt his friend, and to reveal the orthodox notions of devout contemplatiſts, who raiſe themſelves above the ſenſes, and aim at a ſtate of perfection to which ordinary ſouls ſeldom aſpire. The biſhop of Meaux and his adherents exclaimed loudly againſt this book. They complained of it to the king, as if it had been as dangerous as it was unintelligible. His majeſty ſpoke of it to Boſſuet, whom he greatly eſteemed for his reputation and underſtanding. This prelate, throwing himſelf at the feet of his prince, aſked pardon for not having before informed him of the fatal hereſy of the archbiſhop of Cambray. The king and madam Maintenon immediately conſulted father de la Chaiſe upon this affair. The Confeſſor anſwered, that the archbiſhop's book was an excellent piece, which had greatly edified all the Jeſuits, and that the Janſeniſts only diſapproved of it. The biſhop of Meaux was not a Janſeniſt, but he had read their beſt writings, and from thence had imbibed ſome of their principles. He had no affection for the Jeſuits, nor they for him.

The court and city were divided; and all the attention of the public being turned upon this affair, the Janſeniſts had a little reſpite.

Boſſuet

Boſſuet wrote again Fenelon, and both ſent their works to pope Innocent XII, ſubmitting themſelves to his deciſion. The circumſtances did not appear favourable to Fenelon; for but a little before they had abſolutely condemned at Rome, in the perſon of Molinos the Spaniard, that very doctrine of which the archbiſhop of Cambray was now accuſed. Cardinal d'Etrees the French reſident at Rome, was the perſon who had proſecuted Molinos. This cardinal, whom we have ſeen in his old age more engaged in the pleaſures of ſociety than in theology, had proceeded againſt Molinos merely to pleaſe the enemies of that unfortunate prieſt. He had even engaged the king to ſollicit his condemnation at Rome, which was eaſily obtained: ſo that Lewis XIV found himſelf, without knowing it, the moſt formidable enemy of the pure love of the myſtics.

In ſuch ſubtle ſpeculative points, nothing is more eaſy than to point out paſſages in a book under conſideration, reſembling thoſe in one already condemned. Fenelon had on his ſide the Jeſuits, and cardinal de Buillon, lately embaſſador from France to Rome. The biſhop of Meaux had his own great name, and all the chief prelates of France as his adherents. He carried to the king the ſigns manual of moſt of the biſhops, and a great number of the doctors, who all expreſſed their diſapprobation of the *Maxims of the ſaints*.

Such was the authority of the biſhop of Meaux, that father de la Chaiſe durſt not vindicate the archbiſhop of Cambray to the king his penitent, and madam Maintenon intirely abandoned her friend. The king wrote to pope Innocent XII,

that having had the archbiſhop's book laid before him as a dangerous work, he had put it into the nuncio's hands, and earneſtly ſollicited his holineſs to give judgment upon it.

It was inſinuated, nay, even publickly affirmed at Rome, and there are ſome who ſtill credit the report, that the archbiſhop of Cambray was thus perſecuted, for no other reaſon but becauſe he oppoſed the declaration of the ſecret marriage between the king and madam Maintenon. The inventors of anecdotes pretended, that this lady had engaged father de la Chaiſe to preſs the king to acknowledge her for his queen; that the Jeſuit had artfully contrived to make this dangerous commiſſion to fall upon the abbot de Fenelon; but that this preceptor of the young princes, preferring the honour of his country, and his royal pupils, to his private intereſt, had thrown himſelf at the feet of Lewis XIV, to prevent ſuch an extraordinary marriage, which would have injured his memory more with poſterity than any tranſitory gratifications in life could recompenſe.

This tale is ſtill to be found in the hiſtory of Lewis XIV, printed at Avignon. Thoſe who have had acceſs to that monarch and madam Maintenon, know the great abſurdity of this ſtory. But it is true, that Fenelon having continued his education of the duke of Burgundy after his promotion to the archbiſhopric of Cambray; and the king, during this interval, having heard ſome confuſed talk about Fenelon's connection with madam Guion, and madam de la Maiſon Forte; apprehended that Fenelon might infuſe into his pupil maxims too rigid, and ſuch principles of government and morals, as would perhaps

perhaps one day become an indirect cenſure upon that air of grandeur, that ambition for glory, thoſe wars undertaken on the moſt frivolous occaſions, and that taſte for luxury and pleaſures, which had characterized his reign.

The king was deſirous to have ſome converſation with the new archbiſhop upon his political principles. Fenelon, full of his ideas, diſcovered to the king ſome part of the principles, which he afterwards publiſhed in thoſe paſſages of Telemachus where he treats upon government; principles which might rather be applied to the imaginary republic of Plato, than to the real governments eſtabliſhed in the world. The king, after his diſcourſe with him, ſaid, that he had been converſing with the greateſt, moſt witty, and chimerical genius in his kingdom. The duke of Burgundy was informed of theſe his father's expreſſions, and the duke afterwards told them to Mr. de Maleſieux his maſter for geometry. I was told this by Mr. de Maleſieux, and the truth of it was afterwards confirmed to me by cardinal Fleury.

It is certain, that after this converſation the king readily believed, that Fenelon was no leſs romantic in his religious than political notions.

The holy office named a Dominican, a Jeſuit, a Benedictin, two Cordeliers, a Feuillant, and an Auguſtin to take cogniſance of the affair. Theſe are what they call at Rome the inquiſitors. The cardinals and prelates generally leave to theſe monks the ſtudy of theology, whilſt they give themſelves up to politics, intrigues, or the charms of an eaſy indolent life.

The inquiſitors, in thirty ſeven conferences, examined as many propoſitions, and judged them erroneous

erroneous by a majority of voices. The pope, at the head of a congregation of cardinals, condemned them by a bull publiſhed and fixed up in Rome the 13th of March 1699.

The biſhop of Meaux triumphed; but the archbiſhop of Cambray gained a more glorious victory, by his defeat. He ſubmitted himſelf voluntarily, and without reſtriction or reſerve. He even aſcended his epiſcopal chair at Cambray, to condemn his own book, and would not allow any of his friends to defend it. This ſingular example of condeſcention in a man of learning, who might have gained a conſiderable party even by his proſecution, and his candour and ingenuity gained him univerſal love, and made every one almoſt hate his victorious antagoniſt. He afterwards alſo lived in his dioceſe like a good archbiſhop, and a man of letters. That lenity and ſweetneſs of temper which diſplayed itſelf in his converſation as well as writings, made all who had the pleaſure of knowing him his affectionate friends. The perſecution he met with, and his Telemachus, gained him veneration through all Europe. The Engliſh, in particular, tho' they carried their arms into his dioceſe, were the moſt eager to ſhew him their reſpect: the duke of Marlborough took particular care that his lands ſhould be ſpared. He had always the affections of his pupil the duke of Burgundy; and had this prince lived, he would have had a ſhare in the adminiſtration.

In his philoſophical and honourable retirement, we have a proof of the difficulty which a man has to diſengage himſelf from court. He always expreſſed himſelf upon this head in

ſuch

ſuch a manner, that his inclination and concern could be perceived thro' his outward appearance of reſignation. In his retreat, he wrote ſeveral pieces upon philoſophy, theology, and polite literature. The duke of Orleans, afterwards regent of the kingdom, uſed to conſult him upon certain difficult points, which concern all mankind, and yet are ſeldom thought of by any. He aſked him, whether the exiſtence of a Deity could be demonſtrated; if this Deity required worſhip; what worſhip he moſt approved of; and whether a miſtaken choice was offenſive to the Divine Being? He ſtarted many other queſtions of the like nature, as a philoſopher who enquired for inſtruction; and the archbiſhop anſwered him like an able philoſopher and divine.

After his being worſted in thoſe ſcholaſtic diſputes, it would have been better had he not intermeddled in the diſputes of Janſeniſm; nevertheleſs he engaged in them. Cardinal Noailles had formerly taken the ſtrongeſt ſide againſt him; and now the archbiſhop took the ſame courſe againſt Noailles. He always flattered himſelf that he ſhould be recalled to court, and conſulted; ſo difficult it is for the human mind to diſengage itſelf from thoſe affairs in which it has been accuſtomed to be employed. His deſires, nevertheleſs, were moderate as his writings; and when on the decline of life, he at laſt deſpiſed all diſputes, reſembling in this one particular Huet biſhop d'Avranches, one of the moſt learned men in Europe, who in his latter days acknowledged the vanity of almoſt all ſcience, and the human underſtanding itſelf.

The

The archbiſhop of Cambray (who would imagine it!) thus turned an air of Lulli:

Jeune, j'etais trop ſage,
Et voulais trop ſavoir;
Je ne veux en partage
Que badinage,
Et touche au dernier age,
Sans rien prevoir.

When young, I to wiſdom aſpir'd,
And thought myſelf wond'rous wiſe;
But in age, find that all I've acquir'd
Is to know man in ignorance dies.

He compoſed theſe verſes in the preſence of his nephew the marquis de Fenelon, afterwards ambaſſador at the Hague, from whom I had them, and can warrant the truth of this fact. This circumſtance would of itſelf be of little importance, did it not afford us a ſtrong proof, that in the grave tranquillity of old age, we often view in a different light, what appeared to us ſo great and intereſting in our youthful days, when the active mind is hurried away by deſires, and eaſily caught by outward deluſions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

DISPUTES upon the CHINESE CEREMONIES.

IT was not ſufficient for the diſquiet of our minds, that we diſputed at the end of ſeventeen hundred years upon the articles of our own religion, but we muſt likewiſe introduce into our quarrels thoſe of the Chineſe. This diſpute, however, did not produce any great diſturbance; but it ſerved more than any other to characterize that reſtleſs, wrangling, and contentious ſpirit, which prevails in our climates.

Matthew Ricci the Jeſuit, towards the end of the ſeventeenth century, had been one of the firſt miſſionaries to China. The Chineſe were then, and are ſtill almoſt the ſame in philoſophy and literature, that we were about two hundred years ago. Their reſpect for their antient maſters, preſcribes them certain bounds, which they dare not paſs. A progreſs in the ſciences, is the work of time and boldneſs of genius. But morals and policy, being more eaſy to comprehend than the ſciences, and theſe being brought to perfection amongſt them before other arts, it has happened that the Chineſe, who have continued more than 2000 years within the ſame boundaries they had at firſt attained, have alſo remained but indifferent proficients in the ſciences; but they are the firſt people in the world in morals and policy, as well as the moſt antient.

After Ricci, many other Jeſuits went into this extenſive empire; and, by means of the European

pean ſciences, they ſecretly ſcattered ſome ſeeds of Chriſtianity amongſt the Children of that people, whom they took all proper opportunities to inſtruct. The Dominicans, ſome of whom were concerned in the miſſion, accuſed the Jeſuits of permitting idolatry, whilſt they preached Chriſtianity. This was a delicate point, as was likewiſe the conduct to be obſerved in China.

The laws and tranquillity of this great empire, were founded upon the moſt natural and ſacred right, the reſpect due from children to their parents. To this reſpect alſo they join that which they think due to their firſt teachers in morality, and eſpecially to Con-fu-tze, whom we call Confucius, an antient philoſopher, who had taught them virtue 500 years before Chriſtianity was founded.

Every family has particular days, on which they aſſemble to perform certain rites in honour of their anceſtors; and the learned meet publickly to honour Con-fu-tze. On theſe occaſions they proſtrate themſelves, according to their manner of ſaluting their ſuperiors, which was formerly called adoration throughout all Aſia. They burn wax tapers and frankincenſe. The colaos, whom the Spaniards call mandarins, twice a year kill ſeveral animals, near the hall where Con-fu-tze is honoured, and afterwards feaſt on them. Are theſe ceremonies to be accounted idolatry, or eſteemed only as civil inſtitutions? Do they hereby acknowledge their parents and Con-fu-tze for deities, or are they even invoked as our ſaints? Is this, in ſhort, a mere political cnſtom, which ſome of the Chineſe abuſe by a ſuperſtitious extravagance? This

was

was a point which could not be eaſily determined in China by ſtrangers, and which we were unable to decide in Europe.

The Dominicans brought the affair before the inquiſition of Rome in 1645. The holy office, from their repreſentation, declared againſt the Chineſe ceremonies, till the pope ſhould give a deciſion.

The Jeſuits defended the Chineſe and their ceremonies, which they ſaid muſt be allowed, otherwiſe the Chriſtian religion could never gain admittance in an empire ſo jealous of its cuſtoms. They gave ſtrong reaſons for their opinion on this ſubject. In 1656, the inquiſition permitted that the learned might continue to revere Confu-tze, and the Chineſe children to honour their anceſtors; but proteſted at the ſame time againſt all ſuperſtitious adoration.

The affair being yet undetermined, and the miſſionaries always divided, a final deciſion was from time to time ſolicited at Rome. Mean while the Jeſuits at Pekin ſo far gained the favour of the emperor Camhi, by their mathematical knowledge, that this prince, ſo much celebrated for his virtue and benevolence, accepted of them as miſſionaries, and allowed them publickly to teach Chriſtianity. It may not be unneceſſary to obſerve, that this deſpotic monarch, grandſon to the conqueror of China, was however ſubject by cuſtom to the laws of the empire; that he could not by his own authority alone ſuffer Chriſtianity, and was obliged to ſolicit a tribunal for that purpoſe; and that he himſelf drew up two petitions in the name of the Jeſuits. At laſt, in 1692, Chriſtianity was permitted in China, by the indefatigable pains and addreſs of the Jeſuits.

There

There is at Paris a ſeminary eſtabliſhed for foreign miſſions, and ſome prieſts educated here were then in China. The pope, who ſends apoſtolic vicars into all the countries which they call the regions of infidelity, choſe a prieſt named Maigrot, out of this ſeminary, to go to preſide as vicar in the Chineſe miſſion, and gave him the biſhopric of Conon, a little Chineſe province in Fokien. This Frenchman, being now a biſhop in China, not only declared the rites performed for the dead ſuperſtitious and idolatrous, but alſo pronounced the learned Chineſe, atheiſts. Thus the Jeſuits had now to ſtruggle againſt their brother miſſionaries, more than againſt the mandarins and people. They repreſented at Rome, that it was highly inconſiſtent that the Chineſe ſhould at once be atheiſts and idolaters. It was urged againſt theſe learned men, that they admitted only matter; and yet how could this be maintained, when they invoked the ſouls of their anceſtors, and that of Con-fu-tze. One of theſe reproaches evidently deſtroyed the other, unleſs it was pretended that they admitted contradictions in China, as is often done with us. But it was neceſſary to be well acquainted with their language and manners, in order to unravel this difficulty. The affair remained a conſiderable time before the court of Rome: and the Jeſuits were in the mean time attacked on all ſides.

Father le Comte, one of their moſt learned miſſionaries, had written in his hiſtory of China, "That this people had amongſt them, for 2000 "years, a knowledge of the true God; that "they had ſacrificed to their Creator in the moſt "antient temple of the world; and that China "had

"had practiſed the pureſt leſſons of morality, "when Europe was in darkneſs and corruption."

It is not impoſſible, but that father le Comte might be in the right; for, in effect, if this nation goes up, by an authentic hiſtory, and a ſucceſſion of thirty-ſix great and atteſted eclipſes, even to the time where we place the deluge; 'tis not improbable, that they may have had the knowledge of one ſupreme Being longer than any other nation: nevertheleſs, as there was ſomewhat in theſe aſſertions contrary to the received notions, they were attacked in the Sorbonne. The abbot de Boileau, brother to Deſpreaux, as great a critic as his brother, and a greater enemy to the Jeſuits, in 1700 declared his encomium on the Chineſe to be a downright blaſphemy. Boileau was a man of a lively and peculiar genius, who wrote humourouſly upon the moſt ſerious matters. He publiſhed a book, entitled, *Flagellantes*, and ſome other pieces of that kind. He ſaid he wrote them in latin, to avoid being cenſured by the biſhops. His brother Deſpreaux ſaid of him, "That if he had "not been a doctor of the Sorbonne, he would "have been a doctor of the Italian comedy." He declaimed moſt violently againſt the Jeſuits and the Chineſe, and began by ſaying, "That the "encomiums on that people had ſhook his Chriſ"tian brain." Others in the aſſembly ſeemed likewiſe to have been equally diſordered in their heads. They had ſome debates upon the ſubject. A reverend doctor, named Le Sage, was of opinion, that twelve of his brethren, of the ſtrongeſt conſtitution, ſhould be ſent to the empire of China to inſtruct themſelves in every particular. The affair was debated upon with great warmth;

but at last, the college of Sorbonne declared the encomiums given to the Chinese false, scandalous, rash, impious and heretical.

This dispute being carried on with great acrimony, inflamed that about the ceremonies: and pope Clement XI, the year after, sent a legate to China on this occasion. The person fixed upon was Thomas Maillard, titular patriarch of Antioch, who did not arrive in China till 1705. The court of Pekin were till that time ignorant that they had been under trial at Rome and Paris. The emperor Camhi at first received the patriarch de Tournon with great civility: but it may be easily conceived what was his surprize, when the legate's interpreters informed him, that the Christians, who preached up their religion in his empire, did not agree amongst themselves, and that this legate came to decide a dispute, which the court of Pekin had never before heard of. The legate gave him to understand, that all the missionaries, except the Jesuits, condemned the antient customs of his empire, and that they suspected even his Chinese majesty, and all the literati, of being atheists, who admitted only a material heaven. He added, that he had in his dominions the learned bishop of Conon, who would explain every particular fully, if his majesty would condescend to give him a hearing. The monarch was still more surprized, when he was informed of having bishops in his empire: and the reader must be no less so, when he finds this prince so indulgent as even to permit the bishop of Conon to come to him to talk against his religion, against the customs of his kingdom and against himself. The bishop of Conon was admitted to an audience: he knew very little of

the Chineſe language. The emperor at firſt deſired him to explain four characters drawn in gold above his throne. Maigrot could only read two: but he maintained that the words *King-tien*, which the emperor himſelf had written in his pocket-book, did not ſignify *adore the Lord of Heaven.* The emperor had the patience to explain to him, that it was the preciſe meaning of theſe words. He condeſcended, moreover, to enter into a long argument: in which he vindicated the honours paid to the dead. The biſhop, however, remained inflexible in his opinions; and the Jeſuits ſeemed to have more intereſt at court than the emperor himſelf.

The emperor, who by the laws of his kingdom could have puniſhed him with death, contented himſelf with only baniſhing him. He decreed likewiſe, that all the Europeans willing to remain in his empire, ſhould after this be obliged to have letters of protection, and undergo an examination.

As for the legate de Tournon, he was ordered to quit the capital. As ſoon as he came to Nankin, he publiſhed a writing, which entirely condemned all the Chineſe rites, in regard to the dead, and forbad the uſing that expreſſion which the emperor uſed, to ſignify *the God of Heaven.*

The legate upon this was confined in Macao, of which the Chineſe always retain the ſovereignty, tho' they allow the Portugueſe to have a governor there. Whilſt the legate was in his confinement there, the pope ſent him a hat; but this only ſerved to make him die a cardinal. He ended his days in 1710. The enemies of the Jeſuits laid his death to their charge: they might

have contented themſelves, however, with imputing his baniſhment to them.

Such diviſions, amongſt ſtrangers who came to inſtruct the empire, greatly diſcredited the religion they profeſſed. It was ſtill more contemned, when the court, who began to ſtudy the Europeans with attention, diſcovered that not only the miſſionaries were divided, but that likewiſe amongſt the traders who came to Canton, there were many ſects ſworn enemies to each other.

The emperor Camhi did not ſhew any coldneſs to the Jeſuits, but was extremely indifferent, or rather averſe to Chriſtianity. His ſucceſſor baniſhed all the miſſionaries, and proſcribed the Chriſtian religion. This was part of the effects of thoſe diſputes, and that preſumptuous boldneſs, with which ſtrangers had pretended to know better than the emperor and the magiſtrates, in what ſenſe the Chineſe honoured their anceſtors. Theſe diſputes, ſo long the object of attention at Paris, as well as many others ariſing from a buſy ſort of idleneſs, are utterly forgotten. And people are now ſurpriſed, that they ever produced ſuch animoſities; and that ſpirit of philoſophy, which daily gains ground, ſeems to promiſe public tranquility.

13 JY 63

BRITISH MUSEUM

CHILDREN of LOUIS XIV.

HE married Maria Thereſa, born in 1638, the only daughter of Philip IV. by his firſt marriage with Elizabeth of France, and ſiſter to Charles Deux and Margaret Thereſa, whom Philip IV had by his ſecond marriage with Maria Anne, of Auſtria. The nuptials of Lewis XIV were celebrated the 9th of June 1660, and Maria Thereſa died in 1683.

He had by her,

LEWIS Dauphin, *Monſeigneur*, who died at Meudon the 14th of April, 1711. And, by Maria-Anne-Chriſtiana-Victoria of Bavaria, who died the 20th of April 1619, he had,

1. Lewis, Duke of Burgundy, who died the 18th of February 1712, and had by Maria-Adelaida of Savoy, who died the 12th of February 1722, N. Duke of Bretagne, who died in 1705; Lewis, Duke de Bretagne, who died in 1712; and Lewis XV. born the 15th of February 1710.

2. Philip, Duke of Anjou, and King of Spain, who died the 9th of July 1746.

3. Charles, Duke of Berry, who died the 4th of May 1714.

Lewis XIV had alſo two ſons and three daughters, who died young.

Legitimated and natural Children.

By the dutcheſs de la Valliere, who entered into the order of Carmelites the 2d of June 1674, made her profeſſion the 4th of June 1675, and died the 6th of June 1710, aged 65 years Louis XIV had

Lewis of Bourbon, Count de Normandois, who died in 1683.

Maria-Anne, call'd *Mademoiſelle de Blois*, and married to Lewis-Armand, Prince of Conti; She died in 1739.

Other legitimated and natural Children.

Lewis-Augustus of Bourbon, Duke of Main, who died in 1736.

Lewis-Cæſar, Count de Vexin, Abbot of St. Dennis and St. Germain Deſpres, who died in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, Count de Toulouſe, who died in 1737.

Louiſa-Frances of Bourbon, call'd *Mademoiſelle de Nantes*, married to Lewis III. Duke of Bourbon-Condé. She dy'd in 1743.

Louiſa-Maria of Bourbon, call'd *Madamoiſelle de Tours*, who dy'd in 1681.

Frances-Maria of Bourbon, call'd *Madamoiſelle de Blois*, married to Philip II. Duke of Orleans, and regent of France. She dy'd in 1749.

Two other ſons who dy'd young.

Cotemporary Sovereigns.

POPES.

Urban VIII. dy'd in 1644

It was this Pope who conferr'd the title of Eminence on Cardinals.

Innocent	X.	1655
Alexander	VII.	1667
Clement	IX.	1669
Clement	X.	1676
Innocent	XI.	1689
Alexander	VIII.	1691
Innocent	XII.	1700
Clement	XI.	1721

The Ottoman *House.*

Ibrahim,		dy'd in	1655
Mahomet	IV.		1687
Soliman	III.		1691
Achmet	II.		1695
Muſtapha	II.		1703
Achmet	III. depos'd,		1730

Emperors of Germany.

Ferdinand	III.	dy'd in	1657
Leopold	I.		1705
Joſeph	I.		1711
Charles	VI.		1740

Kings of Spain.

Philip	IV.	dy'd in	1665
Charles	II.		1700
Philip	V.		1746

Kings of Portugal.

John IV.	Duke of Braganza,	dy'd in	1656
Alphonſo	Henry, dethron'd in 1667.		1683
Peter	II.		1706
John	V.		1750

Kings of Great-Britain.

Charles	I.	dy'd in	1649
Charles	II.		1685
James	II. dethron'd in 1688.		1701
William	III.		1702
Anne Stuart,			1714
George	I.		1727

Kings of Denmark.

Chriſtian	IV.	dy'd in	1648
Frederick	III.		1670
Chriſtian	V.		1699
Frederick	IV.		1730

Kings of Sweden.

Chriſtina, abdicated in 1654,	dy'd in	1689
Charles-Guſtavus,		1660
Charles XI.		1697
Charles XII.		1718

Kings of Poland.

Ladiſlas Sigiſmond,	dy'd in	1648
John Caſimer,	abd.	1667
Michael Wienowiſki,	dy'd in	1673
John Sobieſki		1696
Frederic-Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony,		1733
Staniſlaus,		

Kings of Pruſſia.

Frederick I.	dy'd in	1713
Frederick William,		1740

Czars.

Michael-Fæderowitz,	dy'd in	1645
Alexis-Michælowitz,		1676
Fædor-Alexiowitz,		1682
Iwan-Alexiowitz,		1689
Peter-Alexiowitz,		1725

Marſhals of France.

Nicholas de l'Hopital, Duke de Vitry,	dy'd in	1644
Hon. d'Albert de Chaulnes,		1649

Gaſp. de Coligni, called Marſhal de Chatillon, grand-ſon to the Admiral, dy'd in 1646
James Nompar de Caumont de la Force, 1652
Francis de Baſſompierre, 1646
Francis-Annibal d'Etrees, 1670
Th. d'Epinai de Saint-Luc, 1644
Urbain de Maille de Brézéé 1650
Charles de Schomberg d'Halluin, 1656
Charles de la Porte de la Meilleraie, 1664
Anthony de Grammont, 1678
John Bapt. Budes de Guebriant, 1643
Ph. de la Motte Houdancourt, 1657
Fr. de l'Hopital de Ronay, 1660
Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viſcount de Turenne 1675
John de Gaſſion, 1647
Cæſar de Choiſeul du Pleſſis-Pralin, 1675
Joſias de Rantzau, 1650
Nic. Neuville de Villeroy, Gov. of Lewis XIV. dy'd in 1685
Anthony d'Aumont, 1669
James d'Eſtampes, 1668
Charles de Monchi d'Hoquincourt, 1658
Henry de Seneterre de la Ferté, 1681
James Rouxel de Grancei, 1680
Arm. Pompar de Caumont de la Force, 1675
Lewis Faucault, 1659
Ceſar Phæbus d'Albert, 1676
Ph. de Clerambault, 1665
James Caſtlenau, 1658
John de Schulemberg de Montdejeu, 1671
Alrah. de Faber, 1662
Fr. de Crequi, 1687
Bernardin de Gigault de Bellafons, 1694
Lewis de Crerant d'Humieres, 1694
Godfrey d'Eſtrades, 1686
Ph. de Montault benac de Navailles, 1684
Frederick de Schomberg, killed at the Boyne 1690
James Henry de Durfort de Duras, 1704

Lewis-Victor de Rochechouart, call'd Duke de Vironne, 1688
Francis d'Aubuſſon de la Seuillade, 1691
Francis-Henry de Montmorency Luxembourg, 1695
H. Lewis d'Alongni de Rochefort, 1676
Gui Aldonce de Durfort de Dorges, 1702
John d'Etrees, 1707
Claudius de Choiſeul. 1711
Fr. de Neuville de Villeroy, Gov. of Lewis XV. 1730
J. Armand de Joyeuſe, 1710
L. Fr. de Boufflers, 1711
Ann Hillarion de Conſtantin de Tourville, 1701
Ann Julius de Noailles. 1708
Nicholas de Catinat, 1712
Lewis Hector de Villars, 1734
Noel Bourton de Chamilli, 1715
Victor Mari d'Etrees, 1737
Fr. Lewis Rouſſelet de Chateau-Renaud, 1716
Seb. le Pretre de Vauban, 1707
Conrade de Roſen, 1715
Nic. du Blé d'Uxelles, 1730
Rene Froullai de Teſſe, 1725
Nic. Aug. de la Baume de Mont-Revel, 1716
Camillies d'Hoſteen de Tallard, 1728
Henry d'Harcourt, 1718
Fred. de Marſin, 1706
James de Fitz James de Barwick, 1734
Ch. Aug. Gorgon de Matignon, 1729
James Baſin de Bezons, 1733
Peter de Monteſquiou, 1725

Great Admirals of France *under the reign of* Lewis XIV.

Armand de Maillé Marquis de Brézé, grand maſter, chief and ſuperintendant-general of the navigation and commerce of France in 1643. was kill'd at ſea by a canon ſhot the 14th of June 1646.

Anne of Auſtria, Queen Regent, ſuperintendant of the ſeas of France in 1646, which ſhe reſign'd in 1650.

Cæſar

Cæſar, Duke of Vendome and Beaufort, grand maſter, and ſuperintendant general of the navigation and commerce of France in 1650.

Francis de Vendome, Duke of Beaufort, the ſon of Cæſar, kill'd in the engagement of Candy the 25th of June 1679.

Lewis of Bourbon, Count de Vermandois, made ligitimate of the royal blood of France, admiral in the month of Auguſt 1669, aged two years. He dy'd in 1683.

Lewis-Alexander of Bourbon, made legitimate of the royal blood of France, Count de Toulouſe, admiral in 1683, dy'd in 1737.

Generals of the Gallies of France, *under the reign of* Lewis XIV.

Armand John du Pleſies, Duke de Richlieu, peer of France in 1643, in the life time of Francis his father. He reſign'd this poſt in 1661.

Francis Marquis de Crequi ſucceeded him, and reſign'd in 1669, a year after he had been nominated a marſhal of France.

Lewis Victor de Rochechouart, Count, and afterwards Duke de Vivonne, Prince of Tonnai-Charente in 1669.

Lewis-Auguſtus of Bourbon, legitimated of France, Prince de Dombes, Duke du Maine & d'Aumale, in 168 , and reſign'd in 1694.

Lewis Joſeph, Duke de Vendome in 1694. He dy'd in 1712.

Rene Sire de Froullai, Count de Teſſé, Marſhal of France in 1712, reſign'd in 1716.

The Chevalier d'Orleans, in 1716. He dy'd in 17 8, after whoſe death this dignity was reunited to the admiralty.

Chancellors.

Charles de l'Aubepine de Chateauneuf, keeper of the ſeals, he dy'd in 1653

Peter Seguir, 1672

Mathew

Mathew Mola, G. D. S. 1656
Stephen de Aligre, 1677
Michael le Tellier, 1685
Lewis Boncherat, 1699
Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontechartrian. He exercis'd this employ till 1714, dy'd in 1727.
Daniel Francis Voiſin, 1717

Miniſters.

Julius Mazarin, Cardinal, Prime Miniſter, dy'd in 1661

Superintendants of the Finances.

Cl. Bouthillier, dy'd in 1651
Abel Servien, 1659
Cl. de Meſmes, Count d'Avaux, 1650
Nicholas Bailleul, 1652
Charles de la Nieuville. 1653
Emery, (his name was Michael Perticelli)
René de Longueil de Maiſons, 1677
Nicholas Fouquet, * 1680

Secretaries of State.

Henry-Auguſtus de Lomerie de Brienna dy'd in 1660
Cl. Bourthillier, ſuperintendant, 1651
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, 1681
Abel Servien, ſuperintendant, 1659
Leon Bouthillier de Charigni, 1632
Fr. Sublet der Noyers, ſuperintendant of the buildings, 1647
H. de Guenegaud de Planei, 1670
Michel de Tellier, chancellor, 1685
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere, reſign'd in 1699
Hugh de Lionne, dy'd in 1671
Henry-Lewis

* When N. Fouquet was ſeized, the poſt of ſuperintendant of the finances was ſuppreſſed.

Henry Lewis de Lomaine de Brienne,	1683
John Bapt. Colbert de Seigneldai,	1690
Fr. Michel de Tellier de Louvois,	1691
Ch. Colbert de Croiſſi,	1696
Sim. Arnauld de Pompone,	1699
Balt. Phelipeau de Chateauneuf,	1700
Lewis Fr. Marie de Tellier de Barbeſieux,	1701
Lewis Phelipeaux de Pontchartrian, chancellor,	1727
Dan. Fr. Voiſin, chancellor,	1717
Lewis Phelipeaux de la Vrilliere,	1725
Michel Chamillard, Comptroller-general of the finances,	1721
Jerome Phelipeaux de Pontchartrian, reſign'd in 1725,	1747
J. Bapt. Colbert de Torci,	1746

WRITERS.

Abadie (James) was born in Bearn, in 1558. He was celebrated for his *Treatiſe upon the Chriſtian Religion*, but he afterwards diſcredited that work by his *opening the ſeven ſeals*. He dy'd in Ireland in 1727.

Abadie or l'Abadie (John) was born in Guienne in 1610. He was by turns a Jeſuit, a Janſeniſt, and a Proteſtant, and at laſt was deſirous to form a ſect of his own, and unite with Bourignon. But Bourignon rejected his overture, ſaying, that every one had his particular ſhare of the holy ſpirit, and that his was greatly ſuperior to Abadie's. We have thirty one volumes of fanaticiſm written by him. He is plac'd here only as an inſtance of the great weakneſs of the human underſtanding. He was not without his diſciples. He dy'd at Altena in 1674.

Ablancourt (Nicholas Perrot d') of an antient family of the Parliament of Paris, was born at Vitri in 1606. He was an elegant tranſlator, each of whoſe performances of this kind was called *a beautiful infidel*. He dy'd poor in 1664.

Acheri

Acheri (Luc. d') a Benedictine, was a great compiler; he was born in 1609, and died in 1685.

Alexander (Noel) a Dominican, was born at Roan in 1639. He has composed many theological pieces, and has had great disputes concerning the customs of China, against the Jesuits who return'd from thence. He died in 1724.

Amelot de la Houssaie (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1634. His translation with political notes, and his histories, are obscure.

Amelot (Dionysius) was born in Saintonge in 1606. He belonged to the oratory; and is principally known by a very good translation of the new testament. He dy'd in 1678.

Amontons (William). He was born at Paris in 1663, and was an excellent musician. He dy'd in 1699.

Ancillon (David) was born at Metz in 1617. He was a Calvinist, and, together with his son Charles, who died at Berlin in 1715, gain'd some litterary reputation.

Anselm, an Augustin Monk. He was the first who compiled a genealogical history of the great officers of the crown, which has been continued and augmented by *du Fourni*, auditor of accounts. Our notions concerning what constitutes these great officers are very confus'd. Some suppose they are those who by their office bear the title af great, as the great Ecuyer, the great Echanson. But the Constable, the Marshals, and the Chancellor, are also great Officers, and yet do not bear the title of great; and there are others who do bear this title, and nevertheless are not ranked in the number of great officers. The captain of the guards, the first gentlemen of the chamber, are in fact become great officers, though they are not reckoned by father Anselm. We have nothing certain on this subject, and indeed, there is a great confusion and uncertainty in regard to all rights and titles in France, as there is order in the administration. He dy'd in 1694.

Arnauld

Arnauld (Anthony) a doctor of the Sorbonne, born in 1612, and the twentieth ſon of that Arnauld who pleaded againſt the Jeſuits. Nothing is more univerſally known than his eloquence, his learning, and his diſputes, which render'd him ſo celebrated and at the ſame time ſo unfortunate, according to our ordinary ideas, which annex misfortune to exile and poverty; without conſidering that glory, many friends, and an healthy old age were the portion of this celebrated man. He dy'd in 1694.

Arnold d' Anailly (Robert) the eldeſt brother of the preceding, was born 1588. He was one of the great writers of Port Royal. His tranſlation of *Joſephus*, which is the moſt eſteemed of all his works, he preſented to Lewis XIV. at the age of 85 years. He was father of *Simon Arnauld*, marquis de Pompone, and miniſter of ſtate. But this miniſter was unable to prevent either the diſputes or the diſgrace of his uncle the doctor of the Sorbonne. He died in 1674.

Abignae (Francis d') was born in 1604. He never had any other maſter but himſelf. He was attached to cardinal Richlieu, and was an enemy to Corneille. His *Pratique des Theatres* is ſtill commended; but he prov'd by his tragedy of *Zenobie*, that genius is not acquired by knowledge. He died in 1676.

Aubri (Anthony) was born in 1616. We have the lives of cardinal Richlieu and Mazarin written by him, which are but indifferent pieces. He died in 1695.

The Counteſs d'Aunoi. Her memoirs and travels into Spain, together with ſome romances written with freedom, have gained her ſome reputation. She died in 1705.

Baillet (Adrian) was born near Beauvais in 1649. He was a celebrated critic. He died in 1706.

Baluze (Stephen) of Auvergne, was born in 1631. He formed the collection of manuſcripts in Colbert's library. He applied to his ſtudies to the age of eighty eight years. We are indebted to him for ſeven vo-

lumes of antient monuments. He was baniſhed for defending the pretenſions of the cardinal de Bouillon, who pretended to be independant of the king. He died in 1718.

Balzac (John Lewis) was born in 1594. He was conſiderable for his eloquence, and was the firſt who founded the prize of eloquence. He had the patent of hiſtoriographer of France and councellor of ſtate, which he called ſplendid trifles. He died in 1654.

Barbayrac (John) was born at Beziers in 1674. He was a Calviniſt, was profeſſor of law and hiſtory at Lauſanne, and was the tranſlator and commentator of Puffendorf and Grotius. Theſe treatiſes upon the Laws of Nations, and upon Peace and War, which have never been ſerviceable in any treaty of peace, nor in any declaration of war, nor to ſecure the right of any perſon, ſeem to be a conſolation to the people, for the evils which have been done by force and policy. They give us ſuch an idea of juſtice, as we receive of celebrated perſons we have never ſeen, from viewing their portraits. He died in 1729.

Barbier Dacourt (John) was known among the Jeſuits by the name of the *Advocate Sacrus*, and in the world by his *criticiſm upon the dialogues of Bouhours*, and by his exellent pleading for an inncocent perſon who was put to the rack. He was long protected by Colbert, who made him comptroller of the King's buildings; but having loſt his protector, he died in miſery 1694.

Barbier (Madamoiſelle) was the author of ſome Tragedies.

Baſnage (James) was born at Roan 1653. He was a Calviniſt and a paſtor at the Hague; but he was fitter to be a miniſter of ſtate than of a pariſh. Of all his books, his hiſtory of the Jews, of the united Provinces, and of the Church, are the moſt eſteemed.

Books upon temporary ſubjects are forgotten with the affair which produced them; but works of general utility are more durable. He died in 1723.

Baſnage de Beauval (Henry) of Roa, was a miniſter in Holland, but he was a philoſophical miniſter, and wrote upon *Toleration* in *Religion*. He was a man of great induſtry; He publiſhed an edition of Furetiere's Dictionary with additions. He died in 1710.

Baudran (Michael) was born at Paris in 1633. He was a Geographer, but not in ſuch eſteem as Sanſon. He died in 1700.

Bayle (Peter) was born at Carlet in the earldom of Foix in 1647. He retired into Holland rather as a Philoſopher than a Calvaniſt. He was perſecuted in his lifetime by the law, and after his death by the enemies of Philoſophy. If he could have foreſeen how univerſally his dictionary would be read, he would have made it more uſeful, by retrenching the obſcure names, and by adding others of greater conſequence. He lived and died like a wiſe man. De Maiſeaux has written his life, of which he has made a large volume, though it ſhould have been comprized in ſix pages; for the life of a ſedentary writer is in his works. He died in 1706.

Beaumont de Perefix (Hardouin) was the preceptor of Lews XIV, and archbiſhop of Paris. His *hiſtory of Henry the Fourth*, which is only an abridgment, inſpires us with a love for that great prince, and is proper to form a good King. He compoſed it for the uſe of his pupil. Mezeray was ſaid to have had a hand in it. There is indeed a good deal of Mezerai's manner in it; but Mezerai was not maſter of that lively ſtyle, in many places ſo worthy of the prince whoſe life Perefix wrote, and of him to whom he addreſſed it: Theſe excellent counſels for governing alone, were not inſerted till the ſecond edition, after the death of cardinal Mazarin. Henry the Fourth is better known from a peruſal of this hiſtory than from Daniel, who has written his life but in a dry manner, in which he has ſaid too much about Pere Coton, and too little concerning the great qualities of Henry the fourth, and the particulars of the life of this excellent King. Perefix affects every ſenſible heart, and ex-

cites adoration of the memory of this prince, whoſe weakneſſes were only thoſe of an amiable man, and whoſe virtues were thoſe of a great one. He died in 1670.

Benſerade (Iſaac de) was born in Normandy in 1612. He filled his little houſe at Gantilli, to which he retired towards the end of his life, with inſcriptions in verſe, which were of more worth than his other works. 'Tis pity they were never collected together. He died in 1691.

Bergier (Nicholas) had the title of hiſtoriographer of France, but he is more known by his curious *Hiſtory of the great Roads of the Roman Empire*, which are now ſurpaſſed by ours in beauty though not in ſolidity. His brother put the finiſhing hand to this uſeful work, and printed it under the reign of Lewis XIV. He died in 1623.

Bernard (Madamoiſelle) has written ſome dramatic pieces, in conjunction with the celebrated *Bernard de* Fontenelle.

Bernard (James) of Dauphiny, was born in 1658. He was a man of learning, and his Journals have been eſteemed. He died in Holland in 1718.

Bernier (Francis) ſurnamed the *Mogul*, was born at Angers about the year 1625. He was eight years Phyſician to the Emperor of the Indies. His voyages are curious. He died in 1688.

Bignon (Jeremiah) was born in 1590. He has a name greater than his works. He lived before literature arrived to a ſtate of perfection in France. The Parliament, to which he was advocate-general, with reaſon reveres his memory. He died in 1656.

Bochard (Samuel) was born at Roan in 1599. He was a Calviniſt, and one of the moſt learned men in Europe in Languages and in Hiſtory. He was one of thoſe who went into Sweden to inſtruct and admire queen Chriſtina. He died in 1667.

Boileau Deſpreaux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1636. He is the moſt correct of all our Poets. His

works have been commented upon ſo much, that any elogy would here be ſuperfluous. He died in 1711.

Boileau (Giles) was born at Paris in 1631. He was elder brother to the famous Boileau. His tranſlations are better than his poetry. He died in 1669.

Boivin (John) was born in Normandy in 1633. He was the brother of Lewis Boivin, and like him was ſerviceable in ſhewing the beauties of the antient Greek authors. He died in 1726.

The Abbé de Bos. His *Hiſtory of the League of Cambray* is profound, political, and intereſting. It ſhews the cuſtoms and manners of the age, and is a model in its kind. All our artiſts read with advantage his *Reflections upon Poetry, Painting, and Muſick*. Nevertheleſs he did not underſtand Muſick, could never write Poetry, and was not poſſeſſed of a ſingle Picture. But he had read, ſeen, heard, and reflected a great deal.

Boſſu (Renéle) was born at Paris in 1631. He was a regular Canon of Saint Genevieve. He endeavoured to reconcile Ariſtotle with Deſcartes, not knowing that they ought both to be abandoned. His *Treatiſe upon the Epick Poem* has great Reputation, but it will never form a Poet. He died in 1680.

Boſſuet (James Benigne) of Dijon, was born in 1627, was biſhop of Condam, and afterwards of Meaux. We have 51 different works by him; but his *funeral Orations* and his *diſcourſe upon univerſal Hiſtory* are the pieces which have conducted him to immortality. He died in 1704.

Bouchenu de Nalbonnai (John Peter) was born at Grenoble in 1651. He travelled in his youth, and was on board the Engliſh fleet in the battle of Solbay. He was afterwards firſt preſident of the chamber of accounts in Dauphiny. His memory is held in eſteem at Grenoble for the good which he did there, and the learned are obliged to him for his labours. He wrote his *Memoirs concerning Dauphiny*, when he was blind, and had the authors which were neceſſary in that work read to him. He died in 1730.

Boudier. He is the author of ſome verſes which are pleaſing from the plain and ſimple nature which appears in them. He wrote his own Epitaph at the age of 86 years, juſt before he died.

J' etais poëte, hiſtorien;
Et maintenant, je ne ſuis rien.

Living, the poet's and hiſtorian's fame
I boaſted: dead, I'm nothing but a name.

Bouhier. Preſident of the parliament of Dijon. He render'd himſelf celebrated by his erudition. He tranſlated ſome pieces from the old Latin Poets, into French verſe. It was his opinion that they ought not to be tranſlated otherwiſe; but he ſhewed how difficult it is to ſucceed in the attempt.

Bouhours, (Dominick) the Jeſuit, was born at Paris in 1628. Language and good taſte are much indebted to him. He has publiſhed ſome very excellent works, on which we have ſome very good criticiſms: *ex privatis odiis reſpublica creſcit.* He died in 1702.

Bouillaud (Imael) of Loudun, was born in 1603. He was ſkill'd in hiſtory and the mathematicks.

The Count de Boulainvilliers of the houſe of Crouy. He was the moſt learned gentleman in the kingdom in hiſtory, and the moſt capable to write that of France, if he had not been too ſyſtematick. He calls the Feudal government, *The maſter-piece of human underſtanding.* He regrets the times wherein the people being the ſlaves to petty tyrants, who were ignorant and barbarous, had neither induſtry, commerce, nor property: and he thinks that a hundred lords, who were oppreſſors of the lands, and enemies to the King, compoſed the moſt perfect of all government. Yet notwithſtanding this opinion, he was an excellent citizen; as, notwithſtanding his weakneſs with regard to judicial aſtrology, he was a philoſopher in that philoſophy which eſteems life as an inconſiderable thing, and which deſpiſes death. His writings, which ſhould be

be read with precaution, are profound and uſeful. A long memoir is printed at the end of his work, *to render the King of France richer than all other monarchs together.* This piece plainly appears not to be written by the Count de Boulainvilliers. He died about 1720.

Bourdaloue, was born at Bourges in 1632. He was a Jeſuit, and the firſt of good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

Bourſeis, (Amable) was born in Auvergne in 1606. He was author of ſeveral political and controverſial pieces. He and Silhon are ſuſpected to have compoſed the *Teſtament politique*, attributed to cardinal Richlieu. He died in 1672.

Bourſaut, (Edmond) was born in Burgundy in 1638. His *Letters to Babet*, which were eſteemed in his time, are, like all other letters of the ſame kind, become the amuſement only of youth in the country. His comedy of Æſop ſtill continues to be acted. He died in 1701.

Brebeuf, (William) was born in Normandy in 1638. He is known by his tranſlation of the *Pharſalia*; but it is not generally known that he is the author of *Lucan traveſtie*. He died in 1661.

Breteuil, Marchioneſs de Chatelet (Gabriel Emilia) was born in 1706. She has illuſtrated Leibnitz, and tranſlated Newton with a commentary: a uſeleſs merit at court, but which is eſteemed by all nations which pretend to knowledge, and ſhe is admired by them for the greatneſs of her genius and eloquence. Of all the women which have diſtinguiſhed France, ſhe had the moſt real wit and good ſenſe and affected them the leaſt. She died in 1749.

Brienne, (Henry-Auguſtus de Loraine de), ſecretary of ſtate. He is the author of ſome *Memoirs*. Such writings by miniſters, would be uſeful works; but then they ſhould be ſuch as thoſe which have been lately publiſhed of the Duke de Sully's. He died in 1666.

Le Bruiere, (John) was born at Dourdan in 1644. It is certain that in his characters he deſcribed real perſons

ſons of conſiderable rank. His work has produced many bad imitators. He died in 1696.

Brumoi (Peter le) the Jeſuit. His *Theatre des Grecs*, is eſteemed the beſt and moſt perfect work of the kind. But he has ſhewn that it is much eaſier to tranſlate and ſhew the beauties of the antients, than to equal our moſt celebrated moderns by his own productions.

Brun (Peter le) was born at Aix in 1661. He was of the oratory. His criticiſm upon *ſuperſtitious cuſtoms* has been regarded: but he may be compared to a phyſician who underſtands the nature of but few diſtempers. He died in 1729.

Buffier, (Claudius) a Jeſuit. His artificial memory is of great ſervice to thoſe who would retain the principal facts in hiſtory in their minds. He has applied verſe (I cannot ſay poetry) to its original intention, that of imprinting in the minds of men a remembrance of thoſe events which were thought worthy to be preſerved.

Buſſy Rabeuin, (Roger Count de) was born in Nivernois in 1618. He wrote with correctneſs and purity. His misfortunes as well as his works are ſufficiently known. He died in 1693.

Calprenede, (Gautier de la) was born at Cahors about the year 1612. He was gentleman in ordinary to the King. He was the firſt that revived a taſte for long romances. He died in 1663.

Campiſtron, (John) was born at Thouloufe in 1656. He was the pupil and imitator of Racine. The Duke de Vendome, to whom he was ſecretary, made his fortune, and the comedian *Baron* part of his reputation. Some of his pieces are affecting, but they want force and dignity of expreſſion: the language, however, is correct; and after him the language of dramatick pieces was ſo neglected, that we have at laſt written in a ſtyle abſolutely barbarous. This was lamented by Boileau at the time of his death. Campiſtron died in 1723.

Du Cange, (Charles du Freane) was born at Amiens in 1680. The uſefulneſs of his two *Gloſſaries* for

the explanation of the cuſtoms of the later empire, and the ſucceeding ages, is well known. He was one of thoſe recompenſed by Lewis. He died in 1688.

Caſſini, (John Dominick) was born in the county of Nice in 1625, and being taken notice of by Colbert in 1666, he became one of the greateſt aſtronomers of his time; but he began like the reſt, with aſtrology. He died in 1712.

Catrou. He was a Jeſuit, and was born in 1659. He wrote in conjunction with father Rouille, the Roman Hiſtory, in twenty volumes. They have endeavoured at eloquence, but have not ſhewn preciſion. He died in 1737.

Du Cerceau, a Jeſuit. He wrote ſome pieces of poetry which are natural: they are of a midling eſtimation; yet ſome of the verſes are very happy. He died in 1730.

Le Chambre, (Marin Cureau de) was born at Mons in 1594. He was one of the firſt academicians. He died in 1669. He and his ſon have gained ſome reputation.

Chantereau, (Lewis le Fevre) was born in 1588. He was a man of great learning, and one of the firſt who helped to clear up the hiſtory of France: but he has given a ſanction to a great error, which is, that the hereditary fiefs did not commence till after Hugh Capet. Though we had no other example than that of Normandy, given or rather extorted under the title of an hereditary fief in 912, this might be ſufficient to diſprove the opinion of Chantereau, which has been adopted by ſeveral hiſtorians. He ſeems to be certain that Charlemagne inſtituted proprietory fiefs in France, and that this form of government was known before his time in Lombardy and Germany. He died in 1658.

Chapelain, (John) was born in 1595. Were it not for *the Pucelle*, he would have had reputation with the learned: yet this bad poem coſt him much more pains than the Iliad did Homer. However, Chapelain is uſeful from his learning. He died in 1674.

La

La Chapelle, receiver-general of the financers, was the author of ſome tragedies which had ſucceſs in their time. He was one of thoſe who endeavoured to imitate Racine; for Racine, without intending it, formed a ſchool like the great painters. But he was a Raphael, who never formed a Julio Romano: yet his firſt diſciples wrote at leaſt with correctneſs of ſtyle; whereas in the declenſion which has ſince enſued, tragedies have appeared wherein there are not four lines together without ſome groſs faults: ſo low are we ſunk, and ſo exceſſive bad are our pieces now, though we have had ſuch great models.

Chapelle, (Claudius l'Huillier) natural ſon of l'Huillier, maſter of accounts. It is not true that he was the firſt who introduced repeated rhimes; D'Aſſouci uſed them before his time, even with ſome ſucceſs.

Pourquoi donc, ſexe au teint de Roſe,
Quand la Charité vous impoſe
La Loi d'aimer votre prochain,
Pouvez vous me haier ſans cauſe.
Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien?
Ah! pour mon honneur je vois bien
Qu'il faut vous faire quelque choſe, &c.

Chapelle ſucceeded better than others in that ſpecies of poetry whoſe excellence conſiſts in grace and harmony; but herein he has ſometimes preferred a barren ſuperfluity of rhymes to the juſtneſs of thought and expreſſion. His voluptuous life, and inconſiderable pretenſions, contributed to the reputation of his pieces. It is known that in his voyage to Montpellier, there are many paſſages on Bachaumont, ſon of the preſident Coigneux, and one of the moſt amiable men of his time. Chapelle was alſo one of the beſt of Gaſſendi's pupils. He died in 1686.

Charleval, (John Faucon de Ris) one of thoſe who gained reputation by his fine genius, without proſtituting himſelf to the publick. The famous converſation between marſhal d'Hoquincourt and father Canaye, which

which is printed in the works of Saint Evremont, is written by Charleval, excepting only the little diſſertation upon Janſeniſm and Moliniſm, which is added to it by Saint Evremont: The ſtyle of the latter is very different from the former. The late monſieur de Caumartin, counſellor of ſtate, was poſſeſſed of the manuſcript of Charleval's piece, in his own hand writing. We read in Moreri, that the preſident de Ris, the nephew of Charleval, would not print his uncle's works, leſt his being an author ſhould be conſidered as a blemiſh upon his family. But his underſtanding and condition muſt be very abject who ſhould advance ſuch a notion in this age This pride in a man of the long robe, might have been excuſable in the military and barbarous times, wherein ſtudy was abandoned entirely to thoſe of the robe, through contempt both for them and learning.

Chardin, (John) was born at Paris in 1643. No traveller has left more curious memoirs behind him than his. He died at London in 1713.

Charpentier, (Francis) was born at Paris in 1620. He was an uſeful academician. We have a tranſlation of the *Cyropedia* by him. He ſtrongly maintained the opinion, that the inſcriptions on the publick monuments of France, ought to be in French. In reality it is degrading a language which is ſpoken in all Europe, not to make uſe of it; and the deſign of theſe inſcriptions is fruſtrated by ſpeaking to the publick in a language which three parts in four do not underſtand. He died in 1702.

La Chatre, (Edme Marquis de) was the author of ſome memoirs. He died in 1645.

Chalieu, (William) was born in Normandy in 1639. He is remarkable for the eaſe and negligence of his poetry, and for the bold and voluptuous beauties which it contains. He died in 1720.

Cheminais, a Jeſuit. He was called the Racine of preachers, and Bourdaloue the Corneille.

Cherron

Cherron, (Elizabeth) was born at Paris in 1648. She was celebrated for muſick, poetry, and painting. She died in 1711.

Chevreau, (Urban) was born at Loudun in 1613. He was a man of wit and learning, and had great reputation. He died in 1701.

Chifflet, (John James) was born at Beſancon in 1588. We have ſeveral curious enquiries by him. He died in 1660. There have been ſeven writers of this name.

Choiſi, (Francis de) was born at Rouen in 1644. He was ſent envoy to Siam, and has given us a relation of that voyage. He is the author of ſeveral hiſtories, a *Tranſlation of the imitation of Jeſus Chriſt*, dedicated to Madam de Maintenon, with this epitaph, *concupiſcet rex decorem tuum:* and ſome *Memoirs of the Counteſs* des Barreſs, which Counteſs he was himſelf.

Claude, (John) was born in Angenois in 1619. He was a Calviniſt miniſter in Holland. He was the oracle of his party, and had the honour to combat Arnauld, Nicole, Boſſuet, &c. He died in 1687.

Le Cointe, (Charles) was born at Trois in 1611. He was of the Oratory. His Eccleſiaſtical annals, printed at the Louvre by order of the King, is an uſeful work. He died in 1681.

Collet, (Philebert) was born at Dombes in 1643. He was a lawyer, and a man of free ſentiments. He was excommunicated by the Archbiſhop of Lyon for a parochial quarrel, and he wrote againſt the excommunication. He declaimed againſt the recluſe lives of prieſts and nuns; and in his treatiſe upon uſury, he ſtrongly maintained the cuſtom authorized in Breſſe, of ſtipulating the intereſt with the capital, which cuſtom is authorized in the greater part of Europe, and practiſed in the other by all merchants, &c. notwithſtanding the laws to the contrary. He alſo affirmed that the tenths which are paid to the clergy are not of divine inſtitution. He died in 1718.

Colomiez, (Paul) the time of his birth is unknown; and moſt of his works begin to be ſo: but they are of

uſe

uſe to thoſe who love literary enquiries. He died at London in 1692.

Commire, a Jeſuit. He had ſucceſs among thoſe who think that good Latin verſes may be compoſed, and who imagine that the age of Auguſtus may be reſtored by ſtrangers, in a language which they cannot even pronounce.

Cordemoi, (Geraud) was born at Paris. We are indebted to him for diſſipating the Chaos which reigned in the accounts of the two firſt races of our Kings; and this uſeful enterprize was owing to the Duke de Montauſier, who engaged Cordemoi to write the hiſtory of Charlemagne for the education of *Monſeigneur*. In the old authors he found little more than abſurdities and contradictions: but the difficulty encouraged him, and he at laſt develloped the two firſt races. He died in 1684.

Corneille (Peter) was born at Rouen 1606. Though not more than four or five pieces are now acted out of thirty three of which he is the author, he will always be regarded as the father of the ſtage. He was the firſt who raiſed the genius of the nation. It is ſaid his tranſlation of the Imitation of Jeſus Chriſt, has been printed 32 times. It is as difficult to believe this, as it is to read the book once. He received a gratuity from the King in his laſt ſickneſs. He died in 1684.

Couſin (Lewis) was born at Paris in 1627. He was preſident in the court of Monies. We are indebted to him for many tranſlations of the Grecian hiſtorians, which only he has done well. He died in 1707.

Dacier (Andrew) was born at Caſters in 1651. He was a Calviniſt as well as his wife, and like her became a Catholic. He was library-keeper in the King's cabinet at Paris, which employment no longer ſubſiſts. He was rather a man of learning than an elegant writer, but his tranſlations and notes will be for ever uſeful. He died at the Louvre in 1722.

Danchet (Anthony) by the aſſiſtance of muſick ſucceeded in ſome operas, which are not ſo bad as his tragedies.

Danet

Danet (Peter) was one of thoſe men whoſe reputation has not been ſo great as his uſefulneſs. His dictionaries of the Latin tongue and of antiquities are of the number of thoſe memorable books compoſed for the education of the Dauphin, and which, if they did not make this prince a man of learning, have greatly contributed to increaſe the knowledge of France. He died in 1709.

Dangeau (Lewis Abbé de) was born in 1643. He was an excellent academician. He died in 1723.

Daniel (Gabriel) the Jeſuit. He was hiſtoriographer of France, and has corrected the errors of Mezeray in regard to the firſt and ſecond races of our Kings. He has been reproached in that his diction is not always ſufficiently pure, that his ſtile is too weak, that he does not intereſt his readers, that he is no painter, and that he has been too conciſe in regard to our laws, cuſtoms, and manners. Nevertheleſs he has ſhewn himſelf well informed, accurate, judicious, and ſincere: And if he cannot be ranked among our great writers he may at leaſt be claſſed with our beſt hiſtorians; nor have we any hiſtory of France preferable to his. Father Daniel in vain pretends that the firſt ages of the hiſtory of France are more intereſting than thoſe of Rome, becauſe Clovis and Dagobert had a greater extent of territory than Romulus and Tarquin. He was not ſenſible that the weak beginnings of whatever becomes great, will always intereſt mankind: we love to trace the low origin of a people to which France became only a province, and which extended its empire to the banks of the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger. It muſt be confeſſed that our hiſtory as well as thoſe of other nations, from the fifth century to the fifteenth, can be conſidered as little better than a chaos of barbarous adventures, under barbarous names.

Dargonne (Noel) was born at Paris in 1634. He was a Carthuſian of Gaillon, and the only one of that order who has cultivated literature. His *Melanges* or Miſcellanies, under the name of Vigneul de Marville, are

are full of curious anecdotes, tho' ſome of them are doubtful. He died in 1704.

Deſcartes (René) was born in Touraine in 1596. He was the ſon of a Counſellor in the parliament of Bretagne. He was the greateſt Mathematician of his age, but a Philoſopher who underſtood nature the leaſt, if we compare him with thoſe who have ſucceeded him. He ſpent the greateſt part of his life out of France, to purſue his philoſophical ſtudies at liberty, in imitation of Saumaiſe, who had done the ſame. Like many other Philoſophers, he was accuſed of atheiſm, after having proved the exiſtence of a God better than any of them. He died at Stockholm in 1650.

Deſmarets de Saint Sorlin (John) was born at Paris in 1595. He took great pains with cardinal de Richlieu's tragedy of *Mirame*. His comedy of *Viſionaries* was regarded as a maſter piece, but it was becauſe Moliere had not then appeared. He was comptroller general extraordinary for military affairs, and ſecretary of the marine for the Levant. Towards the end of his life he was more remarkable for his fanataciſm than for his works. He died in 1676.

Domat. He was a celebrated lawyer. His book upon the civil laws is in great eſteem.

Doujat (John) was born at Thouloufe in 1639. He applied himſelf to the ſtudy of the law, and was a man of learning. He publiſhed a book, and got his wife with child every year. The Journal des Scavans calls him a great man. But this title ſhould not be laviſhed upon him too freely. He died in 1696.

Dubois (Gerard) was born at Orleans in 1629. He was of the Oratory. He has compoſed *a Hiſtory of the Church of Paris*. He died in 1696.

Duché, Valet de Chambre to Lewis XIV, compoſed ſome tragedies for the court, taken from the ſcriptures in imitation of Racine, but not with the ſame ſucceſs.

Duchene (Andrew) was born in Touraine in 1584. He was hiſtoriographer to the King, and author of

many hiſtories and genealogical enquiries. He has been called the father of the hiſtory of France. He died in 1640.

Durenoi (Charles) was born at Paris in 1611. He was both a Painter and a Poet. His Poem upon painting has been approved by thoſe who can read other Latin verſes beſides thoſe of the age of Auguſtus: he died in 1665.

Dufreni (Charles) was born at Paris in 1648. He paſſed for the grandſon of Henry IV, whom he reſembled. His father had been groom of the chambers to Lewis XIII, and the ſon had the ſame poſt under Lewis XIV, who notwithſtanding his irregularities, beſtowed many favours upon him; but he could not prevent him from dying poor. Though he had great wit, and other talents of a good writer, he was never able to compoſe any regular piece. He is the author of many comedies, in moſt of which there are very ſingular and diverting ſcenes. He died in 1724.

Dupleix (Scipio) of Condom, though born in 1559, may be included in the age of Lewis XIV, for he was ſtill living under his reign. He is the firſt hiſtorian who has cited his authorities in the margin; which precaution is abſolutely neceſſary in writing the hiſtory of paſt times. His hiſtory of France is no longer read, becauſe we have others written ſince in a better and more agreeable manner. He died in 1661.

Eſprit (James) was born at Bezeirs in 1611. He was the author of a book upon *the falſity of human virtues*, which is nothing more than a commentary upon the duke de la Rochefoucault. The chancellor Seguier, who was pleaſed with his parts, procured him the place of counſellor of ſtate. He died in 1678.

The Marquis de la Fare, known by his Memoirs, and by ſome agreeable verſes. His talent for poetry did not appear till he was near ſixty years old. It was Madam de Cailus, one of the moſt amiable ladies of this age both for her wit and beauty, upon whom he wrote his firſt verſes, which, perhaps, are the moſt delicate of all that he has written.

M'aban-

M'abandonnant un jour à la triſteſſe
Sans eſpérance & même ſans déſirs,
Je regrettais les ſenſibiles plaiſirs
Dont la douceur enchanta me jeuneſſe :
Sont-ils perdus, diſais je, ſans retour,
Et n'eſt-tu pas cruel, aimour!
Toi que j' ai fait de mon enfance,
Le maitre de mes plus beaux jours
D'en laiſſer terminer le cours
Al'ennuieuſe indifference ?
Alors j' apperçus dans les airs
L'enfant maitre de l'univers,
Qui plein d' une joie inhumaine
Me dit en ſouriant, Tircis ne te plains plus,
Je vais mettre fin à ta peine,
Je te promets un regard de Cailus.

andon'd to grief, on my pillow reclin'd,
aſt all the ſweet hopes and warm wiſhes of love;
egretted their loſs, and in ſecret repin'd,
hat the raptures of youth I no longer could prove.

d are they quite gone? will they never return?
O Cupid! I cry'd, thy ill nature behold:
evoted my youth on thy altars to burn;
And now thou wilt leave me inſenſibly cold.

his ſaid, I perceiv'd hov'ring up in the air
The ſly little tyrant who governs mankind,
ho, with an arch look, cry'd, good Thyrſis forbear,
For Cælia ſhall cure thee with looks that are kind.

e died in 1713.

La Faitte (Mary Magdelen de la Vergne Counteſs her *Princeſs of Cleves* and her *Zaide* were the firſt mances, wherein juſtneſs of behaviour and natural ventures are deſcribed with grace. Before her time ſe pieces were written in a bombaſt ſtile, and filled h things which were incredible. She died in 1693.

Felibien (Andrew) was born at Chartres in 16
He is the firſt who gave Lewis XIV the ſurname
Great, in the inſcriptions in the Hotel de Ville. H
Dialogues upon the lives of the Painters, is the wo
which has done him the greateſt honour. It is e
gant, and profound; and the moſt excellent taſte
every where ſhewn throughout the whole. But
ſays too little in too many words, and is abſolute
without method. He died in 1695.

Fenelon (Francis de Salignac) Archbiſhop of Ca
bray, was born in Perigord in 1651. He is the auth
of fifty five different works. They all come from
heart endued with the higheſt virtue, but his *Telem
chus* inſpires it. He has been vainly blamed
Guendeville and the Abbé Faidit. He died at Ca
bray in 1715.

Ferrand, Counſellor of the court of aids. He
the author of ſome very good Poetry.

Feuquieres de Pas (le marquis de) was born at Pa
in 1648. He was perfectly ſkilled in the art of wa
and was an excellent guide, though perhaps he w
too ſevere a critic. He died in 1711.

Le Fevre (Tannegui) was born at Caen in 161
He was a Calviniſt, a profeſſor at Saumur, deſpiſe
thoſe of the ſect, though he always continued amo
them. He was rather a Philoſopher than an Hug
not. He wrote Latin as correctly as a dead langua
can be written, and was the author of ſome Gre
verſes which ſhould have had but few readers. Lear
ing is indebted to him the moſt for having produc
madam Dacier. He died in 1678.

Flechier (Eſprit) of Avignon, was born in 163
He was Biſhop of Lavaur and afterwards of Nim
He was a poet, both in Latin and French, an hiſto
an, and a good preacher; and he is particularly cel
brated for his fine funeral orations. His hiſtory
Theodoſius was written for the education of *Monſ
neur*. The Duke de Montauſier engaged the m
eminent genius's in France by their writings to faci
tate his education. He died in 1710.

Fleury

Fleury (Claudius) was born in 1640. He was ſub-
eceptor to the duke of Burgundy, and confeſſor to
s ſon Lewis XV. Though he liv'd at court, he
ent his Life in ſtudy and retirement. His hiſtory of
e church is the beſt that has been written, and the
reliminary Diſcourſes are even better than the hiſtory.
He died in 1723.

La Fontaine (John) was born at Château-Thieri in
621. He had the greateſt ſimplicity of all Men; and
hough careleſs and unequal, he was admirable in his
ay. He was the only great man of the age who did
ot partake of the generoſity of Lewis XIV, to which
e had certainly a right both by his merit and poverty.
He died in 1695.

Forbin (Claudius Chevalier de) was a Commodore
n the ſervice of France, and high admiral to the King
f Siam. He left behind him ſome curious Memoirs,
hich have been reviſed and publiſhed. A compari-
on may be drawn between him and Gué-Trouin.

La Foſſe (Anthony) was born in 1658. *Manlius* is
is beſt theatrical piece. He died in 1708.

Fraguier (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1666. He
as a man of learning and good taſte. He is the au-
hor only of ſome Latin verſes and diſſertations. He
ied in 1728.

Furetiere (Anthony) was born in 1620. He is ce-
ebrated for his Dictionary and his Diſputes. He di-
d in 1688.

Galant (Anthony) was born in Picardy, in 1646.
He learnt the oriental languages at Conſtantinople,
nd tranſlated part of the Arabian Tales, which are
known under the title of *Mille & une nuit*, or *the Ara-
bian nights Entertainments*. He died in 1715.

Gacon (Francis) was born at Lion in 1667. He
is placed by father Niceron in the catalogue of illu-
ſtrious men, though he has been famous only for bad
ſatires. He was principally concerned in that collec-
tion of coarſe pleaſantries which is called the *Brevets
de la Calotte*. Theſe obſcenities had their ſource from
I know not what aſſociation called the regiments of

fools and de la Calotte. They are certainly not product of good taſte. Men of ſenſe regard works and their authors with contempt; and they not be cited but as an example to be deteſted.

Abbé Gallois (John) was born at Paris in 16 His learning was univerſal. He was the firſt publiſhed the *Journal de Scavans*, in conjunction the counſellor Clerk Sallo, who had formed the de of this work. He afterwards taught Latin to Col the miniſter of ſtate, who notwithſtanding his buſi thought he had time enough to learn this langua he took moſt of the leſſons in his coach, in his jo nies from Verſailles to Paris. It was ſaid, not wi out probability, that he learnt Latin with a view being chancellor. We may here obſerve, that two men who have been the greateſt patrons of lea ing, Lewis XIV and Colbert, neither of them und ſtood Latin. He died in 1707.

Gaſſendi, (Peter) was born in Provence in 15 He revived part of the philoſophy of Epicurus. was convinced of the neceſſity of atoms and a vacuu and what was affirmed by Gaſſendi has ſince been monſtrated by Sir Iſaac Newton and others. He h leſs reputation than Deſcartes, becauſe he was mo reaſonable, and did not form any hypotheſis: but was accuſed of atheiſm as well as Deſcartes. It w the opinion of ſome, that he who admitted a vacuu as Epicurus, with him alſo denied the exiſtence of God This is the reaſoning of calumniators. Provence, where none were jealous of him, Gaſſen was called a pious divine; but at Paris he was call incredulous by thoſe who envied him. He died 1656.

Gedouin, canon of the holy chapel at Paris. H is the author of an excellent tranſlation of Quintilia &c.

Abbé Geneſt, was born in 1635. He was alm ner to the ducheſs of Orleans, wife to the regent He is the author of ſeveral tragedies. His Penelop had great ſucceſs. He died in 1719.

Le

Le Gendre, (Lewis) was born at Rouen in 1655. He has written a hiſtory of France. To write this hiſtory well, would require the pen and the liberty of a preſident de Thou; and even then it would be very difficult to make the firſt ages intereſting. He died in 1733.

Abbé Girard. His book upon ſynonymous words is of great uſe.

Godeau, (Anthony) one of thoſe who ſerved to eſtabliſh the French academy. He was a poet, an orator, and an hiſtorian. He turn'd the *Benedicite* into verſe, and for this *jeu des mots*, Cardinal Richlieu gave him the biſhoprick of Graſſe. His eccleſiaſtical hiſtory in proſe, was more eſteemed than his poem upon the Faſti of the church. He was deceived in imagining he could equal Ovid's Faſti: neither his ſubject nor his genius were equal to it. It is a great miſtake to imagine that ſubjects taken from chriſtianity can be as proper for poetry as thoſe taken from paganiſm, the mythology of which, as agreeable as it is falſe, animates all nature. He died in 1672.

Godefroi, (Theodorus) was the ſon of Dionyſius Godefroi, a Pariſian. He was born at Geneva in 1580, and was a man of learning. He was hiſtoriographer of France under Lewis XIII and XIV. He applied himſelf particularly to titles and ceremonies. He died in 1649.

Godefroi, (Dionyſius) his ſon, was born at Paris in 1615. He was hiſtoriographer of France as well as his father. He died in 1681.

Gombarville, (Marin) was born at Paris in 1600. He was one of the firſt Academicians. He was the author of ſome very long romances before good taſte prevailed. He died in 1674.

Gondi, (John Francis) cardinal de Retz, was born in 1613, and in his youth lived like *Catiline*, and like *Atticus* in his old age. Several parts of his memoirs are worthy of Salluſt; but the whole is not equal. He died in 1679.

Gourville, was valet de chambre to the Duke de la Rochefoucault, became his friend, and even a friend of the great Condé's. He was hanged in effigy at Paris, and at the ſame time ſent ambaſſador by the King into Germany. He was afterwards propoſed as a ſucceſſor to the great Colbert in his Miniſtry. He has written memoirs of his life, which are plain and artleſs, and wherein he ſpeaks of his birth and fortune with indifference.

Le Grand, (Joachim) was born in Normandy in 1653. He was a pupil of father le Cointe. He was moſt profoundly read in hiſtory. He died in 1732.

Guerret, (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1641. He was known in his time by his Parnaſſus reformed, and by the battle of the authors. He had ſome taſte: but his diſcourſe, *whether the empire of eloquence is ſuperior to that of love*, will not prove him poſſeſs'd of the former. He compoſed the journal of the palace in conjunction with Blandeau: this journal of the palace is a collection of the arrets of the parliaments of France, wherein different decrees are frequently given in celebrated cauſes. Nothing better ſhews the neceſſity of a reformation in our laws, than this neceſſity for a collection of theſe arrets. He died in 1688.

Du Guet, (James Joſeph) was born in Forez in 1649. He was one of the beſt writers among the Janſeniſts. His book upon *the education of a King*, was not compoſed for the King of Sardinia, as has been ſaid. He died in 1733.

Du Gue-Trouin, from commander of a privateer became lieutenant-general of the naval forces. He was one of the greateſt men in his profeſſion. He has written ſome memoirs in the ſtyle of a ſoldier, which are proper to excite emulation in his countrymen.

Du Hamel, (John Baptiſt) of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was ſecretary to the academy of ſciences. Though a philoſopher he was a good divine: but the improvements in philoſophy ſince his time, have diſcredited his works: yet his name has been preſerved. He died in 1706.

Count de Hamilton, (Anthony) was born at Caen. He is the author of ſome excellent poems; and he is the firſt who wrote romances with humour, yet without the burleſque of Scarron.

Hardouin, (John) a Jeſuit. He had great knowledge in hiſtory; but his ſentiments were chimerical.

Henaut, known by the ſonnet of Averton, and by other pieces. He would have gained great reputation, had the three firſt books of his tranſlation of Lucretius, which were loſt, been preſerved, and been equal to what we have of this work. Poſterity muſt not confound him with another perſon of the ſame name, and of ſuperior merit; to whom we are indebted for one of the ſhorteſt and beſt chronological hiſtories of France. This, perhaps, is the only manner in which all great hiſtories ſhould now be written: for the multiplicity of facts and writings is become ſo great, that they muſt all neceſſarily be ſoon reduced to extracts and dictionaries. But it will be difficult to imitate the author of the chronological abridgment, by going to the bottom of ſo many things, and yet appear only to touch ſlightly upon them.

D'Herbelot, (Bartholomew) was born at Paris in 1625. He was the firſt among the French who underſtood the oriental languages and hiſtory. He was at firſt but little regarded in his own country. He was received by Ferdinand the ſecond, Duke of Tuſcany, with a diſtinction which taught France to know his merit. He was afterwards recalled and encouraged by Colbert, who encouraged every thing. His *Oriental Library* is equally curious and profound. He died in 1695.

Hermant, (Godfrey) was born at Beauvais in 1617. His works are merely polemical, and have ſunk into oblivion with the diſputes which produced them.

Le Hire, (Philip) was born at Paris in 1641. He was the ſon of a good painter, was a great mathematician, and greatly contributed to the famous French meridian. He died in 1718.

L'Hopital, (Francis Marquis de) was born in 1662. He was the firſt who wrote in France upon Sir Iſaac Newton's calculations, which he called *les infiniment petits:* this was then regarded as a prodigy. He died in 1704.

D'Hoſier, (Peter) was born at Marſeilles in 1592. He was the ſon of a lawyer. He was the firſt who regulated genealogies, and formed them into a ſcience, Lewis XIII made him Maitre d'Hotel, and gentleman in ordinary of his chamber. Lewis XIV made him a counſellor of ſtate. True great men have frequently been much leſs recompenſed. Their labours were not ſo neceſſary to human vanity. He died in 1660.

Des Houlieres, (Antoinetta de la Garde) of all the French ladies who have ſtudied poetry ſhe has ſucceeded the beſt, for her verſes ſtill continue to be more read than any other of her ſex. She died in 1694.

Huet, (Peter Daniel) was born at Caen in 1630. He was a man of univerſal learning, and preſerved his love for ſtudy to the age of ninety one. He was ſent for to Stockholm by Queen Chriſtina. He was afterwards one of thoſe illuſtrious men who contributed to the education of the Dauphin. No prince ever had ſuch maſters. Huet entered into prieſts orders at the age of forty; and had the Biſhoprick of Avranche, which he afterwards abdicated to apply himſelf entirely to his ſtudies in retirement. Of all his works, thoſe upon *The commerce and navigation of the ancients, and upon the origin of romances*, are of the greateſt uſe. His *Treatiſe upon the weakneſs of the human underſtanding*, has made a great noiſe, and has been thought by ſome to contradict his *Evangelical demonſtration*.

Jacquelot, (Iſaac) was born in Champagne in 1647. He was a Calviniſt, and was a paſtor at the Hague and at Berlin. He is the author of ſome pieces upon religion. He died in 1708.

Joli, (Gui) counſellor of the Chatelet, and ſecretary to Cardinal Mazarin, is the author of ſome memoirs, which compar'd with thoſe written by the Cardinal,

dinal, are what the domeſtick is compar'd with his maſter; yet there are ſome curious things in them.

De l'Iſle, (William) was born at Paris in 1675. He reformed geography, which had long wanted correction. It was he who changed the whole poſition of our hemiſphere with regard to longitude. He taught geography to Lewis XV, and never had a better pupil. This monarch, after his maſter's death, wrote a treatiſe upon the courſes of rivers. William de l'Iſle was the firſt who had the title of principal geographer to the king. He died in 1726.

L'abbe, (Philip) was born at Bourges in 1607. He was a Jeſuit. He has done great ſervice to hiſtory, and is the author of ſeventy ſix different works. He died in 1667.

Le Laboureur, (John) was born at Montmorency in 1623. He has contributed greatly to enlighten hiſtory. 'Tis pity he is the author of the poem upon *Charlemagne*. He died in 1675.

Lainé, or Lainez, (Alexander) was born in Hainault in 1650. His poetry is ſingular, ſome of his lines are very happy, but theſe are not numerous. He died in 1710.

Lambert, (Anne Thereſa de Marguenat de Courcelles, Marchioneſs de) was born in 1647. She was a lady of great wit, and has written ſome pieces upon moral ſubjects, which are very uſeful, and the ſtyle of them agreeable. Her treatiſe upon friendſhip ſhews ſhe deſerved to have friends. The number of ladies who adorned this illuſtrious age, is one of the greateſt proofs of the progreſs of the human underſtanding.

Le donne ſon venute in eccellenza,
Di ciaſcun' arte ove hanno poſto cura. Arioſt.

She died at Paris in 1733.

Lami (Bernard) was born at Mons in 1640. He was of the Oratory. He was learned in many things. He compoſed his elements of Mathematicks on a journey,

journey, which he performed on foot, from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

Lancelot (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1615. He was concerned in ſome very uſeful works, which were undertaken by the recluſes of Port-Royal, for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

De Larrey (Iſaac) was born in Normandy in 1638. His hiſtory of England was eſteemed before the publication of Rapin's; but his hiſtory of Lewis XIV. never was. He died at Berlin in 1719.

Launai (Francis) was born at Angers in 1612. He ſtudied the law, and was a man of learning. He was the firſt who taught the French law at Paris. He died in 1693.

Launoy (John) was born in Normandy in 1603. He was a doctor of divinity. He was a man of learning, indefatigable, and an intrepid critic. He exploded ſeveral errors, particularly concerning the ſaints, whoſe exiſtence he denied. We may judge whether he was likely to have enemies. A curate of Saint Roch is known to have ſaid theſe words. *I always make profound obeiſance to him for fear he ſhould deprive me of my Saint Roch.* He died in 1687.

Lauriere (Euſebius) was born at Paris in 1659. He was a lawyer. No one ever gained a greater knowledge in juriſprudence and the origin of laws. He drew up the plan for the collection of the ordinances; which is an immenſe work, and diſtinguiſhes the reign of Lewis XIV. He died in 1718.

Lemery (Nicholas) was born at Rouen in 1645. He was the firſt reaſonable Chymiſt, and the firſt who gave a univerſal Pharmacopœia. He died in 1715.

Lenfant (James) was born in Beauſſe in 1661. He was a Calviniſt. His hiſtory of the council of Conſtance is his beſt work. He died at Berlin in 1728.

Des Lyons (John) was born at Pontoiſe in 1615. He was a doctor of the Sorbonne, an extraordinary man, and the author of ſeveral polemical pieces. He endeavoured to prove that the rejoicings at the feaſt of kings are profanations, and that the world would ſoon be at an end. He died in 1700.

Le

Le Long (James) was born at Paris in 1655. He was of the Oratory. *His hiſtorical library of France*, if we except ſome errors, is a very curious and uſeful work. He died in 1721.

De Longueruë (Lewis du Four) was born at Charleville in 1652. He was Abbé of Jard. Beſides the learned languages, he underſtood all thoſe of Europe and univerſal hiſtory. It is ſaid, that he compoſed from his memory the hiſtorical and geographical deſcription of France antient and modern. He died about the year 1724.

Longueval (James) was born in 1681. He was a Jeſuit. He has written eight volumes upon the hiſtory of the Gallican church, which have been continued by father Fontenay. He died in 1735.

De la Loubere (Simon) was born at Toulouſe in 1643, and was ſent to Siam in 1687. We have memoirs of this country written by him, which are better than his ſonnets and odes. He died in 1729.

Mabillon (John) was born in Champagne in 1632. He was a Benedictine. It was he, who, being appointted to ſhew the treaſury of Saint Dennis, aſked leave to reſign that employ, becauſe he could not bear to tell fabulous ſtories with real truths. He has made ſome profound enquiries. Colbert employed him in examining antient titles. He died in 1707.

Maignan (Emanuel) was born at Toulouſe in 1601. He was a Religious of the Minime order. He was one of thoſe who learned mathematics without a maſter. He was profeſſor of mathematics at Rome, where there has always ſince been a French mathematical profeſſor of this order. He died at Toulouſe in 1676.

Malebranche (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1638. He was of the oratory. He was one of the moſt profound thinkers that ever wrote. Being animated with that ſtrength of imagination, which gains more proſelytes than truth, he had ſeveral, in his time, who were called Malebranchiſts. He has moſt admirably demonſtrated the errors of the ſenſes and the imagination; but

but when he attempted to diſcover the nature of the ſoul, he loſt himſelf in an abyſs, as others had done before him. Like Deſcartes, he was a great man, from whom, nevertheleſs, very little is to be learned. He died in 1715.

Malezieux (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1650. The Duke of Burgundy's elements of geometry are the leſſons which he gave that prince. He gained reputation by his profound learning. The Ducheſs of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

De Marca (Peter) was born in 1594. Being a widower and having ſeveral children, he embraced an eccleſiaſtical life, and was preſented to the archbiſhoprick of Paris. His book *upon the concord of the empire and the prieſthood* is eſteemed. He died in 1662.

De Maroles (Michael) was born in Touraine in 1600. He was the ſon of the celebrated Claudius de Maroles, captain of the hundred Switzers, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſingular engagement at the head of the army of Henry IV, againſt Marivaux. Michael, Abbé of Villeloin publiſhed 69 works, ſeveral of which were tranſlations, and uſeful in their time. He died in 1681.

Marſolliers (James) was born at Paris in 1657. He was a regular canon of Saint Genevieve; and is known by ſeveral hiſtories, which are well written. He died in 1724.

Martignac (Stephen) was born in 1628. He was the firſt who gave a tolerable proſe tranſlation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I queſtion whether it is poſſible to tranſlate them well into verſe. To render them with equal ſpirit would not be ſufficient. The difference of the two languages is an obſtacle, which is almoſt unſurmountable. He died in 1698.

La Marre (Nicholas) was born at Paris in 1641. He was commiſſary of the chatelet. He is the author of a work, which was proper to one in his ſtation: this was, *the hiſtory of the Police*. But it is uſeful only to the Pariſians, and more proper to conſult than to read. As a recompenſe for this work, he had a ſhare in

in the profits ariſing from the theatre, which, however, he never enjoyed: it would have been juſt to as much purpoſe to have aſſigned a penſion to the comedians to be paid out of the wages of the watch.

Maſcaron (Julius) of Marſeilles, was born in 1634. He was biſhop of Tulles, and afterwards of Agen. His funeral orations, at firſt, were thought to equal thoſe of Boſſuet; but now they only ſerve to ſhew what a great man Boſſuet was. He died in 1703.

Maſſillon, was born in Provence in 1663. He was of the Oratory and biſhop of Clermont. He was a preacher, who knew the world better than moſt men. He was more flowery than Bourdaloue, and more agreeable; and his eloquence at once ſhewed a man of ſenſe, of the court, and of the academy. He was a man of a philoſophical turn, was moderate in his opinions, and favoured toleration. He died in 1742.

Maucroix (Francis) was born at Noyen in 1619. He was an hiſtorian, a poet, and a man of learning.

Menage (Giles) of Angers, was born in 1613. He has ſhewn that it is eaſier to write verſes in Italian than in French. His Italian poetry is eſteemed even in Italy, and our language is greatly indebted to him. He was learned in many things. He died in 1692.

Menetrier (Claudius Francis) was born in 1631. He has contributed greatly to the ſcience of heraldry, emblems and devices. He died in 1705.

Meri (John) was born in Berry in 1645. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Surgery; and is the author of ſome uſeful obſervations. He died in 1722.

Mezeray (Francis) was born at Argentan in Normandy in 1610. His hiſtory of France is well known: his other writings not ſo much. He loſt his ſalary for having ſaid what he believed to be truth. He is leſs accurate than bold in his aſſertions, and his ſtile is unequal. He died in 1683.

Le Moine (Peter) a Jeſuit, was born in 1602. His *Devotion aiſée* rendered him ridiculous. But he might have become a great man by his *Louiſiade*. He had a prodigious imagination. What could be the reaſon,

reaſon, then, that he did not ſucceed? it was becauſe he wanted taſte, did not underſtand the genius of his language, and wanted friends who would tell him the truth. He died in 1671.

Moliere (John Baptiſt) was born at Paris in 1620. He was the beſt comic poet that ever lived in any nation. The difficulty which happened concerning his interment is a reproach to France. This article engaged us in a review of the antient comic poets. And it muſt be confeſſed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our theatre with the irregular ſcenes of the antients, their weak intrigues, the ſtrange practice of declaring by actors, in cold and unnatural monodies, what they had done, and what they would do; it muſt be confeſſed, I ſay, that Moliere retrieved Comedy out of chaos, as Corneille had Tragedy; and that the French have been ſuperior in this reſpect to all the people upon earth. He died in 1673.

Montgaut, Preceptor to the Duke of Orleans ſon of the Regent. His tranſlation of Cicero's epiſtles to Atticus, and his notes upon them, are in great eſteem.

La Monnoie (Bernard) was born in 1641. He was a man of great learning, He died in 1732.

Montfaucon (Bernard) was born in 1655. He was a Benedictine, and one of the moſt learned antiquarians in Europe. He died in 1741.

Montpenſier (Anne Maria Louiſa d'Orleans) known by the name of *Madamoiſelle*, daughter of Gaſton d'Orleans, was born at Paris in 1627. Her memoirs are rather thoſe of a woman, full of herſelf, than of one who was a witneſs of the affairs of Europe; but many curious particulars are contained in them. She died in 1693.

Moreri (Lewis) was born in Provence in 1643. It was not expected, that the author of the *Pais d'amour*, and the tranſlator of *Roderiques*, would in his youth undertake the firſt dictionary of facts that ever appeared. This great work coſt him his life. The work, which is now corrected and greatly augmented, ſtill

ſtill bears his name, though he can ſcarce now be conſidered as the author of it. It is a new city built upon an old plan. Too many doubtful genealogies have injured this uſeful work. He died in 1680.

Morin (Michael John Baptiſt) was born in Beaujolois in 1583. He was a phyſician, a mathematician, and from the prejudices of the times an aſtrologer. He caſt the nativity of Lewis XIV. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ridiculous pretences, he was a man of learning.

Morin (John) was born at Blois in 1591. He was a great critic, and had great knowledge of the oriental languages. He died at the Oratory in 1659.

Morin (Simon) was born in Normandy in 1623. He is mentioned here only to deplore his fatal folly, and that of Saint Sorlin Deſmarets his accuſer. Saint Sorlin was a Fanatick, and accuſed Morin, who ought not to have been the cauſe that Petits Maiſons was burnt alive in 1663, before philoſophy had made a ſufficient progreſs to prevent men of learning from being dogmatical, and judges from being ſo cruel.

La Motte Houdart (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1672. He was celebrated for his works, and amiable for his manners. He had many friends; that is to ſay, many perſons were pleaſed with his converſation. But I ſaw him die in 1731; not a ſingle friend attended his bed-ſide.

De Motteville (Frances Bertaut) was born in Normandy in 1615. This lady is the author of ſome *Memoirs*, which particularly concerned Queen Anne the mother of Lewis XIV. Many little facts are contained in them, which are related with great appearance of Sincerity. She died in 1669.

Le Nain de Tillemont (Sebaſtian) ſon of John le Nain, maſter of requeſts, was born at Paris in 1637. He was the pupil of Nicole, and was one of the moſt learned writers of Port-Royal. His hiſtory of the emperors, and his ſixteen volumes of eccleſiaſtical hiſtory are written with as much truth as compilations from ancient authors can be. But hiſtory, before the invention

invention of printing, being ſeldom contradicted, was very inaccurate. He died in 1698.

Naudé, (Gabriel) was born at Paris in 1600. He was a phyſician, but a better philoſopher. He was firſt attached to Cardinal Barberini, at Rome, afterwards to Cardinal Richelieu, then to Mazarin, and at laſt to Queen Chriſtina, of whoſe learned court he for ſome time made one. He finally retired to Abbeville, where he died as ſoon as he enjoyed perfect independence. Of all his works, his *Apology for the great men accuſed of magick*, is almoſt the only one now regarded. A larger work than this might be compoſed upon the great men accuſed of impiety, ſince the days of Socrates.

——— *Populus nam ſolos credit habendos*
Eſſe deos quos ipſe colit.

Nemours, (Mary de Longueville Ducheſs of) was born in 1625. She is the author of ſome memoirs, which contain ſome particulars of the unhappy times of the Fronde. She died in 1707.

Nevers, (John Peter) of the Oratory, was born at Paris in 1685. He wrote *Memoirs of perſons illuſtrious in literature:* all learned men are not illuſtrious; but he ſpeaks of each with propriety, and does not call a Goldſmith a great man. He deſerves to be ranked among thoſe men of learning who have been uſeful. He died in 1738.

Nicole, (Father) was born at Chartres in 1625. He was one of the beſt writers in Port-Royal. His writings againſt the Jeſuits are now but little read; but his *Moral Eſſays*, which are of uſe to mankind, will never periſh. In particular the chapter upon the means of preſerving peace in ſociety is a maſter piece, which cannot be equall'd by any thing on the ſame ſubject in all antiquity. But this peace is perhaps as difficult to eſtabliſh as that of the abby of Saint Peter. He died in 1695.

D'Orleans,

D'Orleans, (Joſeph) a Jeſuit. He was the firſt who choſe revolutions for the ſubjects of his hiſtories. Thoſe of England by him are written in an eloquent ſtyle. But to the reign of Henry VIII, it is rather fine writing than a juſt relation. He died in 1698.

Ozanam, (James) a Jew by birth, was born near Dombes in 1640. He learnt geometry without a maſter at the age of fifteen. He was the firſt who compiled a *Mathematical dictionary*. His *Mathematical recreations* have always been eſteemed. He died in 1717.

Pagi, (Anthony) a provincial, was born in 1624. He was a Franciſcan. He corrected Baronius, and had a penſion from the clergy for that work. He died in 1699.

Papin, (Iſaac) was born at Blois in 1657. He was a Calviniſt; but afterwards changing this perſuaſion, he wrote againſt it. He died in 1709.

Pardies, (Ignatius Gaſton) a Jeſuit, was born at Po in 1638. He made himſelf known by his *Elements of Geometry*, and by his book upon the *Souls of beaſts*. He died in 1673.

Parent, (Anthony) was born at Paris in 1666. He was a good mathematician. He was another of thoſe who learnt geometry without a maſter. What is moſt remarkable in him is, that he lived happily a long time at Paris upon leſs than ten pounds a year. He died in 1716.

Paſcal, (Blaiſe) ſon of the firſt intendant eſtabliſhed at Roan, was born in 1623. He was a man of a forward genius, the ſuperiority of which he was for uſing as kings uſe their power, by ſubjecting every thing to its force. Language and eloquence are greatly indebted to him. He died in 1662.

Patin, (Guy) was born at Houdanin in 1601. He was a phyſician, but was leſs celebrated for his ſkill in phyſick than for his letters, which were read with eagerneſs, becauſe they contained new anecdotes of ſuch things as every body loves, and ſatires which are liked ſtill more. He ſerves to ſhew what uncertain guides in

in hiſtory thoſe writers are who inconſiderately write down the news of the day. Such relations are frequently falſe, or perverted by the malignity of mankind; and ſuch a multitude of petty facts are ſeldom conſidered as valuable but by little minds. He died in 1672.

Patin, (Charles) was born at Paris in 1633. He was the ſon of Guy Patin. His works are read by men of learning, as his father's letters are by men of leiſure. Charles Patin, who was a very great antiquary, quitted Paris, and died profeſſor of phyſick at Padua, in 1693.

Patru, (Oliver) was born at Paris in 1604. He was the firſt who introduced correctneſs of language in pleadings at the bar. In his laſt ſickneſs he received a gratuity from Lewis XIV, who was told that his circumſtances were but poor. He died in 1705.

Pavillon, (Stephen) was born at Paris in 1632. He was advocate-general of the parliament of Metz, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſome poetical pieces which are natural. He died in 1705.

Peliſſon Fontanier, (Paul) was born at Beziers in 1624. He was an indifferent poet, but was a man of great eloquence and learning, and was firſt clerk to the ſuperintendant Fouquet; after which he was maſter of accounts, and maſter of requeſts, and was appointed to employ the revenue of the oeconomates to make the Hugonots quit their religion, which he had quitted himſelf. He is the author of many pieces, among which are prayers for the time of maſs, a treatiſe upon the euchariſt, a collection of pieces of gallantry, &c. But what gained him the greateſt honour, are his diſcourſe for Fouquet, and his hiſtory of the conqueſt of Franche-Comté. The proteſtants have pretended that he died with ſeeming indifference in regard to religion: but the catholicks have affirmed the contrary. He died in 1693.

Perrault, (Claudius) was born at Paris in 1613. He was a Phyſician; but he practiſed only among his friends. He, without a maſter, gained his ſkill in all thoſe arts which relate to deſigning and mechanicks.

nicks. He was a good phyſician, and a great architect. He encouraged the arts under the protection of Colbert, and gained reputation notwithſtanding Boileau. He died in 1688.

Perrault, (Charles) was born in 1626. He was the brother of Claudius. He was comptroller-general of the finances under Colbert, and formed the academies of painting, ſculpture and architecture. He was uſeful to men of letters, who ſhewed a reſpect for him during the life-time of his protector, but abandoned him after his death. He has been reproached with having found too many faults with the ancients; but his great fault was the having criticiſed them injudiciouſly. He died in 1703.

Petau, (Dennis) was born at Orleans in 1583. He was a Jeſuit. He has corrected chronology. He is the author of ſeventy different works. He died in 1652.

Petis de la Croix, (Francis) was one of thoſe whoſe merit was encouraged and rewarded by the great miniſter Colbert. Lewis XIV ſent him into Turkey and Perſia at the age of ſixteen to learn the oriental languages. Who would imagine that he wrote part of the life of Lewis XIV in Arabick, and that this work is eſteemed in the Eaſt? He wrote the hiſtory of Gengiſkan and Tamerlane, compiled from ancient Arabian writers. He is alſo the author of ſeveral other uſeful works, but his Tranſlation of the *Mille & une jour*, is that which is moſt read.

L'homme eſt de Glace aux verités,
Il eſt de feu pour le menſonge.

Of truth mankind are languid in deſire,
But falſhood's charms their paſſions always fire.

He died in 1713.

Petit (Peter) was born at Paris in 1617. He was a Philoſopher and a man of learning. He wrote only in Latin. He died in 1687.

Pezron

Pezron (Paul) of the order of Citeaux, was born in Bretagne in 1639. He was a great antiquary, and was indefatigable in tracing the origin of the language of the Goths. He died in 1706.

Du Pin (Louis) was born in 1637. He was a doctor of Sorbonne. His library of eccleſiaſtical writers has gained him great reputation and ſome enemies. He died in 1719.

La Placette (John) of Bearn, was born in 1639. He was a Proteſtant Miniſter at Copenhagen and in Holland. He was eſteemed for different works. He died at Utrecht in 1718.

De Polignac (Melchoir) Cardinal, was born at Velay in 1662 He was as good a Latin Poet as can be in a dead language, and was very eloquent in his own. He was one of many who have ſhewn that it is eaſier to write verſes in Latin than in French. He died in 1741.

Poreé (Charles) was born in Normandy in 1695. He was a Jeſuit, and one of thoſe few profeſſors who have been celebrated among men of the world. He was eloquent in the manner of Seneca, was a poet, and a man of great wit. His greateſt merit conſiſted in making learning and virtue beloved by his diſciples. He died in 1741.

De Puy Segur (the Marſhal.) He has given us the Art of War, as Boileau has that of Poetry.

Quenel (Paquier) was born in 1634, and was of the Oratory. He was unfortunate in being the ſubject of a great diviſion between his countrymen. He ſpent his life in poverty and exile. His manners were ſevere, as are thoſe of all who are engaged only in diſputes. A proper alteration in thirty pages of his book would have prevented many quarrels in his country; but he would then have been leſs celebrated. He died in 1719.

Le Quien (Michael) was born in 1661. He was a Dominican, and a man of great learning. He applied himſelf greatly to the ſtudy of the Eaſtern churches, and that of England. He in particular wrote againſt

Courayer

Courayer upon the validity of the ordinations of the Engliſh biſhops. But the Engliſh pay no more regard to theſe diſputes than the Turks do to diſſertations upon the Greek Church. He died in 1703.

Quinaut (Philip) was born at Paris in 1635. He was auditor of accounts, and was celebrated for his lyrick poetry and for the mildneſs with which he oppoſed the unjuſt Satires of Boileau. He had a ſhare, with the other great men, of the rewards given by Lewis XIV. He died in 1688.

La Quintinie (John) was born at Poitiers in 1626. He improved the art of gardening and tranſplanting trees. His precepts have been followed by all Europe, and his abilities were magnificently rewarded by Lewis XIV.

The marquis de Quincy, was Lieutenant General of the Artillery, and author of the Military Hiſtory of Lewis XIV, wherein he enters into very long details, which are of uſe to thoſe who in their reading purſue all the operations of a campaign. Theſe details might ſerve for examples, provided parallel caſes were drawn: but ſuch are never found, neither in war nor other affairs. The reſemblance is always imperfect, and the difference conſtantly great. The conduct of wars may be compared to games which depend upon art: they are learnt only by long practice: and days of action are always games of hazard.

Racine (John) was born at la Ferté Milon in 1639, and educated at Port Royal. He ſtill wore the eccleſiaſtical habit, when he wrote the tragedy of *Theagenes*, which he preſented to Moliere, and that of the *Freres ennemies*, the ſubject of which was given him by Moliere. In the privilege of the *Andromacha* he is ſtyled Prior de l'Epinai. Lewis XIV was ſenſible of his great merit, made him one of the gentlemen in ordinary, named him ſometimes to make the journies to Marly, made him lye in his chamber in one of his illneſſes, and loaded him with favours. Nevertheleſs Racine died of chagrin, or of the dread which he felt for

for having displeased him. He was a greater poet than philosopher. It was long before perfect justice was done to him. We have been affected, says Saint-Evremont, by *Mariamne*, by *Sophonisba*, by *Alcionée*, by *Andromacha*, and by *Britannicus*. Thus it was common not only to compare the wretched *Sophonisba* of Corneille, but even those impertinent pieces *Alcionée* and *Mariamne*, with these immortal master-pieces of Racine. During the lives of celebrated artists dross is mixed with their gold, and the separation is made by death. He died in 1699.

Rancé (John de Bouthillier) was born in 1626. His first work was a translation of *Anacreon*, and he instituted the dreaded reformation *de la Trappe* in 1664. He, as a Legislator, dispensed with the law, which obliges those who live in this retirement, to be ignorant of what passes in the world. He wrote with eloquence. He died in 1700.

Rapin (René) was born at Tours in 1621. He was a Jesuit, and was known by his poem upon gardens in Latin, and by many other literary pieces. He died in 1687.

Rapin de Thoiras (Paul) was born at Castres in 1661. He was a Refugee in England, and served long in the armies as an officer. England is indebted to him for the best history of that kingdom that has yet appeared, and the only one that is impartial, of a nation wherein few write without being actuated by the spirit of party. He died at Wesel in 1725.

Regis (Silvan) was born at Angennois in 1632. His philosophical works have been disregarded, in consequence of the great discoveries which have since been made. He died in 1707.

Regnard (Francis) was born at Paris in 1647. He would have been celebrated for his voyages. He was the first Frenchman that went into Lapland. He cut the following line upon a rock: *Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi defuit orbis.* He was taken in the sea of Provence by the Barbary Corsairs, made a slave at Algiers, was ransomed, and was made treasurer of France,

France, and lieutenant of the Waters and Foreſts. He lived like a philoſopher and a voluptuary. He was born with a genius that was lively, gay, and truly comic. His comedy of the *Gameſter* is compared with thoſe of Moliere. Thoſe who imagine he ſtole this piece from Dufreni muſt be very little acquainted with the talent and genius of authors. He dedicated the comedy call'd *Menechmes* to *Deſpreaux*, and afterwards wrote againſt him, becauſe that poet did not do him juſtice. This man, tho' of ſuch gaiety of humour, died of chagrin in the 52d year of his age. It is even ſaid that he contributed himſelf to ſhorten his days. He died in 1699.

Regier de Marets (Seraphin) was born at Paris in 1632. He has done great ſervice to language, and is the author of ſome poetry in French and Italian. He contrived to make one of his Italian pieces paſs for Petrarch's. But he could not have made his French verſes paſs for thoſe of any great French poet. He died in 1713.

Renaudot (Theophraſtus) was a phyſician, and a man of great learning in many things. He was the firſt author of Gazettes in France. He died in 1679.

Renaudot (Euſebius) was born in 1646. He was very learned in the Oriental hiſtory and languages. He may be reproached with having prevented Bayle's Dictionary from being printed in France. He dy'd in 1720.

Richelet (Cæſar Peter) was the firſt who publiſhed a Dictionary almoſt entirely ſatirical: his example is more dangerous than uſeful.

Du Rier (Peter) was born at Paris in 1605. He was ſecretary to the King and Hiſtoriographer of France: but he was poor notwithſtanding his places. He is the author of nineteen dramatic pieces and thirteen tranſlations, which were all well received in his time. He dy'd in 1658.

La Rochefoucault (Francis duke de) was born in 1613. His memoirs are ſtill read, and his maxims are known by heart. He died in 1680.

Rohaut (James) was born at Amiens in 1620. He abridged and explained the philoſophy of Deſcartes with clearneſs and method. But this philoſophy, which was erroneous almoſt in every thing, has now no other merit than that of having corrected the errors of the antients. He died in 1675.

Rollin (Charles) was born at Paris in 1661. He was rector of the univerſity, and the firſt of that body who wrote French with correctneſs and dignity. Though the laſt volumes of his antient hiſtory, which are written in too great a hurry are not equal to the firſt, it is nevertheleſs the beſt compilation that has yet appeared in any language, becauſe it is ſeldom that compilers are eloquent, and Rollin was remarkably ſo. He died in 1741.

Rotrou (John) was born in 1609. He was the founder of the theatre. The firſt ſcene and part of the fourth act of *Venceſlas* are excellent. Corneille called him his father. Every one knows how greatly the ſon ſurpaſſed the Father. *Venceſlas* was not written till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

Rouſſeau (John Baptiſt) was born at Paris in 1669. Some very good verſes, great faults, and long misfortunes, rendered him very famous. Thoſe couplets which were the cauſe of his baniſhment, and which are like ſeveral which he owned, muſt either be imputed to him, or the two tribunals which pronounced ſentence upon him muſt be diſhonoured. Not that two tribunals, and even more numerous bodies may not unanimouſly commit very great acts of injuſtice, when the ſpirit of party prevails. There was a violent party againſt Rouſſeau. Few men have excited and felt the effects of hatred ſo much. He died, overwhelmed with misfortunes, at Bruſſels, in 1740.

De la Rue (Charles) was born in 1643. He was a Jeſuit, a poet both in Latin and French, and a preacher. He was one of thoſe who had the care of the editions of the Claſſics known under the name of the *Dauphins*, for the education of *Monſeigneur*. Virgil was publiſhed by him. He died in 1725.

De

De la Sabliere (Anthony de Rambouillet) his Madrigals are written with delicacy, without excluding what is natural. He died in 1680.

Sacy le Maitre (Lewis Iſaac) was born in 1613. He was one of the good writers of Port Royal. He publiſhed *Ryaumont's Bible*, and a *tranſlation of the comedies of Terence*. He died in 1684.

Le Sage, was born in 1667. His romance of *Gil Blas*, ſtill continues to be read, becauſe he has imitated nature in it. He died in 1747.

Saint Aulaire (Francis Joſeph de Beaupoil marquis de). It is remarkable that his beſt verſes were written when he was ninety years of age. He, like the marquis de le Fare, ſcarce wrote any poetry at all till he was upwards of ſixty. Among the firſt which were written by him, the following lines were attributed to de la Fare.

O muſe legére & facile,
Qui ſur le côteau d' Helicon
Vintes offrir au vieil Anacreon
Cet art charmant, cet art utile,
Qui ſai rendre douce & tranquile
La plus incommode ſaiſon;
Vous qui de tant de fleurs ſur le Parnaſſe choſes
Orniez à ſes côtés les graces & les ris,
Et qui cachiez ſes cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roſas, &c.

Muſe, inconſtant, airy, light,
Who to Helicon's clear ſtreams
Old Anacreon do'ſt invite,
And inſpire with wanton dreams;

Who with flowers from that fair hill
Decks the graces in his eye;
His grey hairs concealing ſtill,
Which under crowns of roſes lie, &c.

He was received into the academy for this piece, which Boileau alledged as a reaſon why this favour ſhould not be granted to him. He died in 1742, aged near 100 years, others ſay a hundred and two. When he was upwards of ninety he once ſupped with the dutcheſs of Maine, who called him Apollo, and deſired him to tell her a certain ſecret: to which he replied:

La divinité qui s' amuſe
A me demander mon ſecret,
Si j'etais Apollon ne ſeroit point ma muſe:
Elle ſeroit Thétis & le jour finiroit.

Were I Apollo, O divineſt fair,
Who deign to aſk the ſecret of a friend,
You ſhould not be my muſe, but I declare
You ſhould be Thetis, and the day ſhould end.

Anacreon himſelf when he was a great deal younger wrote much worſe things. If the Greek writers had been equal to our good authors, they would have been ſtill more vain, and we ſhould now applaud them with ſtill more reaſon.

Sainte-Marthe. This family for more than an hundred years has been fruitful in men of letters. The firſt, *Gaucher de Sainte-Marthe*, had a ſon named *Charles*, who was remarkable for his eloquence. He died in 1655.

Scevole, the nephew of Charles, diſtinguiſhed himſelf in learning and buſineſs. He ſubjected Poitiers to Henry IV. He died at Loudon in 1623, and his funeral oration was made by the famous Urban Grandier.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe his ſon applied himſelf to literature, like his father, and died 1652. His ſon, named Abel after him, walked in his ſteps. He died in 1706.

Scevole and Lewis de Sainte-Marthe were twin-brothers, and ſons of the firſt *Scevole*. They were both

both interred at St. Severin in Paris, in the ſame grave. They diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their knowledge, and in conjunction compoſed the *Gallia Chriſtiana*.

Dennis de Sainte-Marthe, their brother, completed that work, and died at Paris in 1725.

Peter Scevole de Sainte-Marthe, the elder brother of the laſt Scevole, was Hiſtoriographer of France, and died in 1690.

Saint Pierre (l'Abbé de) contributed by his writings to eſtabliſh the proportional tax. His political notions were not always chimerical.

Saint Evremont (Charles) was born in Normandy in 1613. A voluptuous morality, with ſome letters written to perſons at court, at a time when the word court was pronounced with emphaſis by every body, and ſome very indifferent verſes, which were called *Society* verſes, written in illuſtrious aſſemblies; theſe joined to great wit, contributed to the reputation of his works. A perſon, named *Deſmaizeaux*, printed an edition of them, with a life of the author, which of itſelf makes a large volume; but it does not contain four pages that are of conſequence. It is made up only with the ſame things which are in Saint Evremont's works. This is a Bookſeller's trick, and an abuſe of editorſhip. By ſuch artifices books are multiplied without end, and without improvement. Saint Evremont's exile, his philoſophy, and his works, are well known. Being aſked at his death, whether he was willing to be reconciled to his country, he replied, I would gladly be reconciled to my appetite. He is interred at Weſtminſter, among the kings and illuſtrious men of England. He died in 1703.

Saint Pavin (Dennis Sanguin de) was one of thoſe men of merit, confounded by Deſpreaux in his ſatires with bad writers. The little we have of his, is eſteemed for its delicacy and taſte. His perſonal merit may appear from the following epitaph, written for him by Fieubet, maſter of requeſts, and one of the fineſt wits of this age.

Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin:
Donne des larmes à ſa fin.
Tu fus de ſes amis peut-être?
Pleure ton ſort & le ſien.
Tu n'en fus pas? pleur le tien.
Paſſant, d'avoir manqué d'en être.

Beneath this ſtone Saint-Pavin lies;
Deplore his loſs with weeping eyes.
Wert thou his friend, thou would'ſt, I know;
If not, lament thou wert not ſo.

Sallo (Dennis) was born in 1612. He was counſellor of the parliament of Paris, and the inventor of journals, which Bayle brought to perfection, and which were afterwards diſhonoured by other journals, which were publiſhed by avaricious and needy bookſellers, and were written by obſcure authors, who filled them with erroneous extracts, abſurdities and lies. Nothing has been of greater diſſervice to literature, propagated bad taſte more, or more confounded truth with falſhood. He died in 1669.

Sandras de Courtils was born at Montargis in 1644. He is inſerted here to ſhew the French, but more eſpecially foreigners, how much they ought to be upon their guard againſt theſe falſe memoirs printed in Holland. Courtils was one of thoſe who were moſt culpable in this reſpect. He overſpread Europe with fictions, under the name of hiſtories. It was ſhameful, that a captain in the regiment of Champagne ſhould go into Holland to vend falſehood to the bookſellers. He and his imitators, who have written ſo many libels againſt their own country, againſt good princes, who diſdained to be revenged on them, and againſt ſubjects, who could not have deſerved public contempt and deteſtation. He compoſed, *The conduct of France ſince the peace of Nimegen*, and the *reply* to it. *The State of France under Lewis XIII. and XIV. The conduct of Mars in the wars of Holland. The amorous conqueſts of Alexander the Great. The amorous intrigues of France,*

France. The life of Turenne. That of admiral Coligny. The memoirs of Rochefort, of Artagnan, of Monbrun, of Vordac, of the Marchioneſs du Frene. The political will of Colbert, and many other works, which have amuſed and deceived weak minds. He died at Paris in 1712.

Sanſon (Nicholas) was born at Abbeville in 1600. He was the father of geography, before William de L'Iſle. He died in 1667. His two ſons inherited his merit.

Santeuil (John Baptiſt) was born at Paris in 1630. He was an excellent Latin poet, if there can be one; and yet he could not write poetry in French. His hymns are ſung in the churches. He died in 1697.

Sarraſin (John Francis) was born near Caen in 1605. He has written agreeable things both in proſe and verſe. He died in 1655.

Saumiſe (Claudius) was born in Burgundy in 1588. He retired to Leyden for the ſake of liberty. He was diſtinguiſhed for his great learning. He died in 1653.

Sauveur (Joſeph) was born at Fleche in 1653. He learned the elements of geometry without a maſter. He was one of the firſt who calculated the advantages and diſadvantages of the games of Hazard. He affirmed, that whatever one man was capable of doing in mathematicks, any other was equally capable to do the ſame. But this muſt be underſtood of thoſe who learn, and not of inventors. He had been dumb to the age of ſeven years. He died in 1716.

Scaron (Paul) ſon of a counſellor of the great chamber, was born in 1598. His comedies are rather burleſque than comical. His *Virgil traveſtie* is excuſable only in a buffoon. His comical Romance is almoſt the only work of his, which ſtill continues to be liked by perſons of taſte. This was foretold by Boileau. He died in 1660.

Scuderi (George de) was born at Havre de Grace in 1603. Being favoured by cardinal Richlieu, he, for ſome time, balanced the reputation of Corneille.

His name is better known than his works. He died in 1667.

Scuderi (Magdalen) the ſiſter of George, was born at Havre in 1607. She is now more known by ſome pretty verſes which ſhe wrote, than by her enormous romances of *Clelia* and *Cyrus*. Lewis XIV. gave her a penſion, and received her in a diſtinguiſhed manner. She died in 1701.

Segrais (John) was born at Caen in 1625. *Mademoiſelle* calls him, *a ſort of a wit*; but he was, indeed, a very great wit, and a man of real learning. He was obliged to quit the ſervice of this princeſs, for having oppoſed her marriage with the Count de Lauſon. His eclogues and his tranſlation of Virgil were eſteemed, but now they are not read. It is remarkable, that Brebœuf's Pharſalia is ſtill read, while Segrais's Æneid is entirely neglected. Nevertheleſs Boileau praiſes Segrais; and depreciates Brebœuf. He died in 1701.

Senecai, firſt Valet de chambre to Maria Thereſa. He was a poet of a ſingular imagination. His tale of *Kaimac*, ſome few paſſages excepted, is a diſtinguiſhed work. It is a proof that a tale may be told in a manner very different from Fontaine. It may here be obſerved, that this piece, which is the only good thing written by him, is the only one not inſerted in his works.

Sevigné (Mary de Rabutin) was born in 1626. Her letters, which are filled with anecdotes, written with freedom, and in a lively animated ſtile, are an excellent criticiſm upon ſtudied letters of wit, and a ſtill more excellent pattern for thoſe fictitious letters, wherein it is endeavoured to imitate the epiſtolary ſtile, by a recital of falſe ſentiments and feigned adventures to imaginary correſpondents. She died in 1696.

Simon (Richard) was born in 1638. He was of the Oratory, and was an excellent critic. His hiſtory of the riſe and progreſs of eccleſiaſtical revenues, and his critical hiſtory of the Old Teſtament, &c. are read by all men of learning. He died at Dieppe in 1712.

Sorbieres

Sorbieres (Samuel) was born in Dauphiny in 1610. He was one of thoſe who had the title of Hiſtoriographer of France. Being a friend of Pope Clemen IX. before his elevation to the papal dignity, and receiving but poor marks of the generoſity of this Pontiff, he wrote thus to him: "Moſt holy father, you ſend ruffles to a man who is without a ſhirt." He had ſome knowledge in many ſciences. He died in 1670.

De la Suze (the Counteſs de Coligni) was celebrated in her time by her wit and her elegies. She turned Catholick, becauſe her huſband was a Hugonot, and at laſt ſeparated from him (ſaid Queen Chriſtina) that ſhe might never more ſee her huſband neither in this world nor the other. She died in 1673.

Tallemant (Francis) was born at Rochelle in 1620 He was the ſecond Tranſlator of Plutarch. He died in 1693.

Tallemant (Paul) was born at Paris in 1642. Though he was grandſon of the rich Monteron, and ſon of a maſter of requeſts, who had had two hundred thouſand livres a year of our preſent money, he remained almoſt without any fortune. Colbert made ſome proviſion for him, as he did to other men of letters. He was principally concerned in the Metallic hiſtory of the king. He died in 1712.

Talon (Omer) advocate-general of the parliament of Paris, has left ſome uſeful memoirs, which are worthy of a good magiſtrate and a good citizen. He died in 1653.

Tarteron, the Jeſuit. He tranſlated the ſatires of Horace, Perſius, and Juvenal; and ſuppreſſed thoſe groſs obſcenities, with which it is ſurpriſing that Juvenal, and more particularly Horace ſhould diſgrace their works. In doing this he had a regard to youth, for whoſe uſe he thought he did them. But his tranſlations are not literal enough for them: he gives the ſenſe, but not an equivalent for the words.

Terraſon, (the Abbé) was a philoſopher both in his life and death. There are ſome excellent things in his *Sethas*. His tranſlation of Diodorus is uſeful, but

his examination of Homer is void of all Taſte. He died in 1750.

Thiers, (John Baptiſt) was born at Chartres in 1641. He is the author of many diſſertations. It was he who wrote againſt the Inſcription on the convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, *To God and Saint Francis, who were both crucified.* He died in 1703.

Thomaſſin, (Lewis) of the Oratory, was born in Provence in 1619. He was a man of profound learning, and was the firſt who wrote dialogues upon the fathers, upon councils, and upon hiſtory. Towards the end of his life he forgot every thing which he had known, and remembered nothing of what he had written. He died in 1695.

Thoynard, (Nicholas) was born at Orleans in 1629. It is ſaid he had a great ſhare in Cardinal Norris's treatiſe upon Syrian Epochas. His concordance to the four evangeliſts in Greek, is regarded as a curious work. He was only a man of learning, but he was profoundly ſo. He died in 1706.

Toureil, (James) was born at Thouloufe in 1656. He was celebrated for his tranſlation of Demoſthenes. He died in 1715.

Tournefort, (Joſeph Pitton de) was born in Provence in 1656. He was the greateſt botaniſt of his time. He was ſent by Lewis XIV into Spain, England, Holland, Greece and Aſia, to perfect Natural hiſtory. He brought into France 1336 new ſpecies of Plants, and he taught us the nature of our own. He dy'd in 1708.

Le Tourneux was born in 1640. His *Chriſtian Year* is in the hands of many, perhaps becauſe it is inſerted in the catalogue of prohibited books. He died in 1686.

Triſtan l'Hermite, gentleman to Gaſton d'Orleans, the brother of Lewis XIII. The prodigious and continued ſucceſs of his tragedy of *Mariamne*, was occaſioned by the ignorance which then prevailed. There were no better; and when the reputation of this piece was eſtabliſhed, more than one tragedy of Corneille

was

was neceſſary to deſtroy it. There are nations ſtill where very indifferent pieces are thought excellent, becauſe they have not been ſurpaſſed by any ſuperior genius. It is not generally known that Triſton verſifyed the office for the holy Virgin, nor is it ſtrange that we ſhould be ignorant of it. He died in 1655.

Vaillant, (John Foy) was born at Beauvais in 1632. The publick is indebted to him for the ſcience of medals, and the King for one half of his cabinet. Colbert ſent him into Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Perſia. Some Algerine corſairs took him in 1674, together with Deſgodets the architect. They were both ranſomed by the King. No man of learning ever went through more dangers. He died in 1706.

Vaillant, (John Francis) his Son was born at Rome in 1665, during his father's travels. He alſo was an antiquary, and died in 1708.

Valincourt, (John Baptiſt Henry du Trouſſet de) was born in Picardy in 1653. An epiſtle addreſſed to him by Deſpreaux gained him his greateſt reputation. He is the author of ſome inconſiderable pieces. He was a man of learning, but if he had been nothing elſe, he would not have made ſo great a fortune as he did. He died in 1730.

Varignon, (Peter) was born at Caen in 1654. He was a celebrated mathematician, and died in 1722.

Varillas, (Anthony) was born in Marche in 1624. He was a more agreeable than accurate hiſtorian. He died in 1696.

Le Vaſſor, (Michel) of the Oratory. He was a refugee in England. His hiſtory of Lewis XIII, which is diffuſe, tedious, and ſatirical, has been read for the ſake of many ſingular facts which it contains. He died in 1718.

Vauban, (the Marſhal de) was born in 1633. His ſcheme for real tenths was never put in execution, and is indeed impracticable. He is the author of ſeveral tracts which are worthy of ſo good a citizen. He died in 1707.

Vaugelas,

Vaugelas, (Claudius Favre de) was born at Chamberry in 1585. He was one of the firſt who corrected and regulated language. He could write verſes in Italian but not in French. He continued to correct his Quintus Curtius for thirty years. Whoever would write well ought to correct his works all his life. He died in 1650.

Vavaſieur, was born in Charolois in 1605. He was a Jeſuit, and a man of great learning. He was the firſt who ſhewed that the Greeks and Romans knew nothing of the burleſque ſtyle, which is the remains of barbariſm. He died in 1681.

Le Vayer, (Francis) was born at Paris in 1588. He was preceptor to *Monſieur* the brother of Lewis XIV, and taught the King himſelf during one year. He was Hiſtoriographer of France, and counſellor of State. He was a ſtrong Pirrhoniſt and known as ſuch. But this did not prevent ſo important an education from being intruſted to him. A great deal of knowledge and good ſenſe is ſhewn in his works, which, however, are too diffuſe. He died in 1672.

Vergier, (James) was born at Paris in 1675. Compared with Fontaine, he is what Campiſtron is to Racine. He was a faint but natural imitator. He was aſſaſſinated at Paris by robbers in 1720. We are told in Moreri that he wrote a parody againſt a powerful prince who cauſed him to be killed. But this ſtory is falſe and abſurd.

Vertot, (Rene Aubert) was born in Normandy in 1655. He is an agreeable and elegant hiſtorian. He died in 1735.

Vichart de Saint Real, (Cæſar) was born at Chamberry, but educated in France. His hiſtory of the conſpiracy at Venice is an excellent piece. His life of Chriſt is extremely different. He died in 1692.

Villars de Montfaucon, (the Abbé de) was born in 1635. He was celebrated for his *Count de Gabalis*, which is a part of the ancient mythology of the Perſians. The author was killed in 1673, by a piſtol ſhot.

ſhot. It was ſaid the Silphs aſſaſſinated him for having revealed their myſteries.

Villars, (the Marſhal Duke de) was born in 1652. The firſt volume of the memoirs which paſs under his name is entirely his own. He died in 1734.

Villedieu, (Madame de) her Romances gained her great reputation. Not that we would here be thought to ſet any value upon thoſe romances with which France has been and ſtill continues to be overwhelmed: almoſt all of them, except Zaide, are the productions of weak minds, who eaſily write ſuch things as are not worthy to be read by perſons of ſenſe. They are even for the moſt part void of imagination, and there is more in four pages of Arioſto than in all theſe inſipid writings put together, which ſpoil the taſte of our youth. She died in 1683.

Voiture, (Vincent) was born at Amiens in 1598. He was the firſt in France diſtinguiſhed for being what is called a *bel eſprit*; and this is all his merit in his writings, from which we ſhould not form our taſte; but this merit was then very uncommon. We have ſome fine lines written by him, but they are but few. Thoſe which he wrote for Anne of Auſtria, and which are not printed in his works, are a memorial of that free gallantry which reigned in the court of that Queen, whoſe ſweet temper and natural goodneſs was tried by the Frondeurs,

---

Je penſais ſi le Cardinal,
J'entend celui de la valette,
Pouvait voir l'eclat ſæns egal
Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes, *
J'entens celui de la beauté.
Car aupres je n'eſtime guere,
Cela ſoit dit ſans vous deplaire,
Tout l'eclat de la majeſtè.

* At that time it was the cuſtom in poetry to ſuppreſs the final letters, which were ſometimes inconvenient, as *vous éte* for *vous êtes*. This is done by the Italians and Engliſh. French poetry is too confined and frequently too proſaic.

He

He alſo wrote verſes in Italian and Spaniſh with ſucceſs. He died in 1648.

Celebrated Artiſts.

MUSICIANS.

The French muſic, at leaſt the vocal part, is not agreeable to any other nation; nor can be ſo, becauſe the French proſody is different from that of all Europe. We always accent upon the laſt ſyllable, whereas the Italians and all other nations do this upon the penultima, or the antepenultima. Our language is the only one which has words ending with *e mute*, and theſe *e*'s which are not pronounced in common diſcourſe, are pronounced in regular declamation, and that in an uniform manner, as *gloi-reu*, *victoi-reu*, *barbari-eu*, *furi-eu*. And this is what renders moſt of our airs and recitatives inſupportable to every one not accuſtomed to them. Our climate alſo denies us that lightneſs of voice poſſeſſed by the Italians. We do not practice that cuſtom which is common at Rome, and in the other Italian courts, of depriving men of their virility to make their voices more muſical than that of women. All this, joined to the ſlowneſs of our muſic, which makes an odd contraſt with our national vivacity, conſtantly renders the French muſic agreeable only to themſelves.

Yet, notwithſtanding all this, foreigners who have lived long in France, confeſs that our muſicians, by adapting their muſick to the words, have produced excellent compoſitions; and that our regulated declamation has frequently a moſt admirable effect; but this is only to ears extremely well accuſtomed to them; and even then the execution muſt be quite correct.

Our

Our inſtrumental muſick partakes ſomewhat of that monotony and ſlowneſs for which the vocal is accuſed; but many of our ſymphonies, and particularly our minuets, have been very well liked by other nations. They are performed in many of the Italian *operas*. There are ſcarce any other than theſe in a nation whoſe ſovereign has one of the beſt *operas* in Europe, and who, among the number of his other ſingular talents, has condeſcended alſo to cultivate that for muſic with the greateſt care.

John Baptiſt *Lulli* was born at Florence in 1635, brought into France at the age of 14 years, and though he could then only play upon the violin, he became the father of the true French muſic. He knew how to adapt his art to the genius of the language, which was the only way to ſucceed. It may here be obſerved, that the Italian muſic was not then very different from that gravity and noble ſimplicity which we admire in the recitatives of *Lulli*.

After him all our muſicians, ſuch as *Colaſie*, *Campra*, *Deſtouches*, and others, have been his imitators; till, at laſt, there appeared a man, who raiſed himſelf above them by the compaſs of his harmony, and who new modelled the art of muſick.

With regard to the muſicians of Chapelle, though many of them are celebrated in France, their compoſitions have not yet been executed in any other nations.

Of Painters, Sculptors, Architects, Engravers, &c.

It is not the ſame in regard to Painting as to Muſic. A nation may have a harmony agreeable only to itſelf, becauſe the genius of its language will admit no other: but it is the buſineſs of painters to repreſent nature, which is the ſame in all Countries, and which is every where ſeen with the ſame eyes.

For a painter to gain a juſt reputation, his works muſt be eſteemed by foreigners. It is not ſufficient to have a party, and be praiſed in trifling books; his works muſt be bought by the real connoiſeurs.

That

That which ſometimes confines the talents of painters, is what ſhould ſerve rather to extend them. It is the method they obſerve in imitating the maſters which they ſtudy. Academies, no doubt, are extremely uſeful to form pupils, eſpecially when the maſters are ſuch as work in the grand taſte; but when the maſter is one who works in the petty gout, and whoſe manner is dry and laboured, if his figures are unnatural, and his painting like that upon fans, the pupils, being ſubjected to imitation, and to the deſire of pleaſing a bad maſter, entirely loſe the idea of natural truth and beauty. There is a fatality attends academies. No work of any kind called academical has yet been a work of genius. Shew me an artiſt who is poſſeſſed with the fear of not imitating his maſters, and his productions will be weak and confined. Give me a man of a free genius, filled with the idea of nature which he copies, and he ſhall ſucceed. Almoſt all the great artiſts have flouriſhed either before the eſtabliſhment of academies, or have worked in a taſte different from that which prevailed in them.

Corneille, Racine, Deſpreaux, Le Moine, all not only purſued a manner different from other writers, but they had almoſt all of them for their enemies.

Nicholas Pouſſin, born at Andelis in Normandy in 1599, was the pupil of his own genius, which he perfected at Rome. He was called the painter of men of ſenſe. He may alſo be called the painter of men of taſte. His only fault is the having heightened the colouring of the Roman ſchool too much. He was the greateſt painter in Europe in his time. Being recalled from Rome to Paris, he was there over powered by the force of envy and cabals; which determined him to retire. This has been the caſe of other artiſts. *Pouſſin* returned to Rome, where he lived poor but contented. His philoſophy placed him above the reach of fortune. He died in 1665.

Euſtachius le *Sueur* was born at Paris in 1627. Though *Vouet* was his only maſter, he, nevertheleſs, became

became an excellent painter. He had carried his art to the higheſt degree of perfection, whet he died, aged 38 years, in 1655,

Bourdon and Le Valentin have been celebrated. Three of the beſt pictures, which adorn the church of Saint Peter at Rome, are by *Pouſſin*, *Bourdon*, and *Valentin*.

Charles *Le Brun* was born at Paris in 1619. He had ſcarce made his genius appear, when the ſuperintendant Fouquet, one of the moſt generous and moſt unfortunate men that ever lived, gave him a penſion of four hundred thouſand livres of our preſent money. It is remarkable, that his painting of the *Family of Darius*, which is at Verſailles, is not ſurpaſſed by the colouring of the picture of *Paul Veroneſe*, which is placed over-againſt it; and that it is greatly ſuperior to it in deſign, compoſition, dignity, expreſſion, and the juſtneſs of the *Coſtume*. The prints from his pictures of the *Battles of Alexander*, are even more eſteemed than the *Battles of Conſtantin*, by *Raphael* and *Julio Romano*. He died in 1690.

Peter *Maignard*, born at Troies in Champagne in 1610, was, for ſome time, the rival of *Le Brun*; but he is no longer ſo in the eyes of poſterity. He died in 1695.

Joſeph *Paroſel* was born in 1648. He was a good painter, and ſurpaſſed his ſon. He died in 1704.

John *Jouvenet* was born at Rouen in 1644. He was the pupil of *Le Brun*, and though a good painter, was inferior to his maſter. He has painted almoſt all objects of a yellow colour, of which colour they appeared to him, through a particular conformation of his organs of ſight. He died in 1717.

John Baptiſt Santerre. There are ſome paintings of ſcaffolding by him executed in the moſt admirable manner. His picture of *Adam* and *Eve* is one of the fineſt in Europe.

La Foſſe is diſtinguiſhed by a merit nearly the ſame with the preceding.

Bon Boulogne, was an excellent Painter: a proof of which is, that his paintings are ſold at a very high price.

Lewis Boulogne. His paintings, which do not want merit, are leſs valued than thoſe of his brother.

Raous was a Painter whoſe performances were unequal, but in his beſt pieces he has equalled Rembrandt.

Rigaut. Though he chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in painting Portraits, yet the great picture, wherein he has repreſented the cardinal de Bouillon opening the holy year, is a maſter-piece equal to the beſt works of Rubens.

De Troie worked in the ſtyle of Rigaut.

Wateau. He was in the graceful manner what *Teniers* was in the groteſque. He had diſciples whoſe pictures are very highly eſteemed.

Le Moine has perhaps ſurpaſſed all our Painters by the compoſition of the *Salon of Hercules* at Verſailles. This apotheoſis of Hercules was a compliment to the cardinal, Hercules de Fleuri, who had nothing that could be compared with the Hercules of fable. A repreſentation of the apotheoſis of Henry the IV. would have been more proper in the ſalon of a King of France. *Le Moine* being envied by thoſe of his profeſſion, and not thinking himſelf ſufficiently recompenced by the cardinal, killed himſelf in deſpair.

Some others have excelled in painting animals, as *Deſportes* and *Oudry*; others have ſucceeded in miniature; and ſeveral in portraits. Some of our Painters now diſtinguiſh themſelves by paintings of a higher kind; and it is probable the art will not be loſt among us.

Sculpture was brought to perfection under Lewis XIV, and continues the ſame under Lewis XV.

James Sarraſin, was born in 1598, executed many excellent pieces of ſculpture at Rome, for Clement VIII. And he finiſhed others at Paris, with the ſame ſucceſs. He died in 1660.

Peter

Peter Puget, was born in 1662. He was an Architect, a Sculptor, and a Painter. He was chiefly celebrated for the *Andromeda* and for the *Milon Crotoniate*. He died in 169[illegible].

Le Gros and Theoden have adorned Italy with their works.

Francis Girardan, born in 1627, by the baths of Apollo and the tomb of cardinal Richlieu, has equalled the fineſt remains of antiquity. He died in 1715.

The *Coiſevaux* and the *Couſtoux* were remarkable; but they are now ſurpaſſed by four or five of our preſent ſculptors.

Chaveau, *Nantevil*, *Melan*, *Audran*, *Hedeling*, *Le Clerc*, the *Drevets*, *Poilly*, *Picart*, du *Change*, and others, have ſucceeded in Engravings, and their prints adorn the cabinets of thoſe in Europe who cannot be at the expence of paintings.

Chaſers in gold and ſilver have alſo merited to be placed among our moſt celebrated artiſts, by the beauty of their deſigns, and the elegance of their execution.

It is not ſo eaſy for a genius born with the grand gout for Architecture to ſhew his talents, as it is for other artiſts to ſhew theirs. Such a perſon is unable to raiſe ſuperb ſtructures, unleſs he is employed by a prince. Many a good Architect has poſſeſſed talents which have been entirely uſeleſs.

Francis Manſard, was one of the beſt Architects in Europe. The caſtle or rather the palace of *Maiſons* near Saint Germain, is a maſter-piece, becauſe he had entire liberty to follow his genius.

Julius Hardouin Manſard, his nephew, made an immenſe fortune under Lewis XIV, and was ſuperintendant of the buildings.

The works conſtructed after the deſigns of *Perrault*, *Levacc*, and *Darbay*, are well known.

The agreeable part of Gardening was brought to perfection by *Le Notre*, and the uſeful by *La Quintynie*.

Engraving upon precious ſtones, ſtriking of medals, and letter founding, for the printing of books, were all

all produced in conſequence of the rapid progreſs made by other arts.

Clock-makers, who may be conſidered as practical natural philoſophers, have cauſed an admiration of their genius and labour.

Silks and Stuffs, and even the Gold by which they are enriched, have been adorned, with ſuch uncommon taſte and knowledge, that Veſtments which have been worn only through luxury have deſerved to be preſerved as monuments of human genius and induſtry.

We began to make *Porcelaine* at Saint Cloud, before it was made in any other part of Europe.

To conclude, the laſt age has enabled the preſent to collect and tranſmit to poſterity, all the arts and ſciences, each of them brought to as great a degree of perfection as human induſtry is capable of: and to do this is at preſent the intention and endeavours of a ſociety of men of learning, eminent for their genius and knowledge. This immenſe and immortal work ſeems to accuſe the brevity of human Life.

13 JY 63

END of Vol. II.

THE

INDEX.

A

ABrantes (Duke of) I. 240.
Academy of Cimento, II. 127. Of London, ibid. Of ſciences at Paris, 128. The French, 128, 135. Of the Belles Letters, 129. Of Architecture, 154. Of Painting, at Paris and Rome, 155.
Ages, (remarkable) in the hiſtory of the world, I. 2. II. 114.
Albemarle, (General) I. 2. and the following.
Alberoni, (Cardinal) I. 341.
Albuquerque, (Duke) I. 45.
Alexander VII. (Pope) II. 213.
Alexander VIII. (Pope) II. 173.
Algiers, I. 181, 184.
Allati, library-keeper of the Vatican, II. 31.
Alphonſus, King of Portugal, I. 122.
Alſace, I. 73, 154, 163.
Amſterdam, I. 21, 142.
Ancre, (Marſhaleſs d') I. 35.
Angeli, the fool, II. 26.
Anne of Auſtria, Queen Regent of France, I. 37, 38, 47, 52, 92. II. 77.
Anne, Queen of England, I. 196, 246, 320. and the following.
Antin, (Duke de) II. 83.
Architecture, I. 2.
Argencourt, (Mademoiſelle d') II. 2.
Argenſon, (Monſieur d') II. 96.

INDEX.

Arnold, (Dr.) II. 209, 212, 219. His brother the Biſhop of Angers II. 217.
Arras, I. 75.
Arriere Ban, I. 162.
Artillery, II. 102.
Aſfeld, (Baron d') I. 210.
Aſoph, I. 233.
Aſtrology, I. 34.
Atlone, (Count d') I. 263.
Avaux, (Count d') I. 198.
Aubignè, (Count d') II. 64, 66.
Aubray, (lieutenant of the police) I. 48. and the following.
Auguſtus, Emperor of Rome, I. 2. II. 83.
Auguſtus, Elector of Saxony, and King of Poland, I. 232, 346.
Auſtria, (the houſe of) I. 11, 352, 354, and the following.

B.

Baden, (Lewis Prince of) I. 265, 277.
Balzac, II. 134.
Barbarini (Cardinal) I. 27.
Barbéſieux, (Marquis de) I. 220, 249. II. 81.
Battle of Leipſic, I. 15. Of Lutzen, ibid. Of Rocroi, 39. Of Fribourg, 42. Of Norlingen, 43. Of Lens, 44. Of Lawingen, ibid. Of Sommerhauſen, ibid. Of Badajox, 45. Of Tabor, ibid. Of Retel, 56. Of Blenau, 64. Of St. Anthony 66. Of Dunes, 81. Of St. Gotherd, 106. Of the Villa Viſcioſa, ibid. Of Solbay, 143. Of Sintzheim, 154. Of Mulhauſen, ibid. Of Turkheim, 155. Of Senef, 157. Of Conſarbruck, 161. Of Cockerſberg, 168. Of Rheinfield, 169. Of Montcaſſel, ibid. Of Agouſſe, 171. Of St. Denis, 175. Of the Boyne, 200. Of the Hogue, 203. II. 106. Of Valcourt, I. 211. Of Staffarde. 213. Of Flurus, 214. Of Leuſes, 215. Of Steinkirk, ibid. Of Nerwind, 218. Of Ter, 220. Of Zant, 233. Of Luzara, 259. Of Fredlingen, 266. Of Hockſtet, 268, 272, &c. Of Spire, 268. Of Ekern, 269. Of Donawert, 271. Of Malaga, 280. Of Caſſano, 283.

283. Of Caſſinato, ibid. Of Ramilies, 284. Of Turin, 290. Of Caſtiglione, 292. Of Almanza, 297. Of Oudenarde, 302. Of Malplaquet, 311. Of Saragoſſa, 315. Of Denain, 228. Of Bitonto, 349. Of Veletri, 355. Of Dettingen, ibid. Of Fontenoy, ibid. Of Laufeld, ibid.

Batavia, I. 21.

Bateville, or Watteville, (Baron de) I. 100. The Abbot his brother, I. 117.

Bavaria, (Elector of) I. 72.

Bavaria, the (Prince of) intended King of Spain, I. 235.

Bavaria, (Elector of) the Ally of France, I. 267.

Bavaria, (Ferdinand of) I. 191.

Bavaria, (Mary Anne Chriſtina Victoria of, Dauphineſs, II. 68.

Baville, (Moignou de) Intendant of Languedoc, II. 108.

Bay, (Marquis de) I. 315.

Bay, or Baïus, (Michael) Dr. of Louvain, II. 206.

Bayle, II. 143.

Bayonet invented, II. 102.

Beauvais, (Baroneſs de) II. 2.

Beaufort, (Duke de) I. 53, 55. II. 104.

Beaumont, (Abbé de) Preceptor to Lewis XIV. II. 3.

Beck, (the Spaniſh General) I. 44.

Belle-ile, (Marſhal) I. 355.

Benſerade, II. 24.

Bernini, II. 97.

Berry, (Duke of) II. 71.

Berwick, (Marſhal de) I. 295, 297.

Blake, (Admiral) I. 72, 80.

Boileau, II. 32, 149.

Boileau, (Abbé) II. 255.

Boisjourdan, (Capt.) I. 161.

Bombs, firſt uſed, I. 181.

Boſſuet, II. 136, &c. 243, 248.

Boufflers, I. 208, 217, 221, &c. 263, 269, 303, 312, &c.

Bouillon, (Duke de) I. 53. II. 181.

Bourdaloue, II. 136.

Bourlie, (Abbe de) II. 199.

Bournonville, (Prince of) I. 154.

Bourignon, II. 225.

Bozzoli, I. 255.

Braganza, (Duke of) I. 19, 106.
Brandenburg, (Elector of) I. 13.
Breſt, I. 180. II. 105.
Brinvilliers, (Marquis of) II. 49.
Brouſſel, (Counſellor) in oppoſition to the court, I. 49.
Brouſſon, a Calviniſt preacher, II. 198.
Bruyere, II. 142.
Brun, (le) II. 155.
Bruxelles, I. 223.
Burgundy, (Duke of) I. 263, 268, 301, 327, II. 71.
Burgundy, (Ducheſs of) II. 69, 80.
Buſſy, (Count) II. 34.
Buzenval, (Biſhop of Beauvais,) a Janſeniſt, II. 217.

C.

Caienne, a French Colony, II. 106.
Calliéres, I. 229.
Caviniſm, its progreſs and revolutions in France, II. 176 to 204.
Camhi, Emperor of China, II. 253.
Caprara, General of the Emperor, I. 154.
Cara-Muſtapha, Grand Viſier, I. 183.
Carlos (Don) I. 340, 349.
Caſimir, King of Poland, I. 123.
Caſſini, II. 128.
Catalonia, I. 30, 47, 337.
Catinat, (General) I. 208, 212, 221, 227, 252.
Cavalier, chief of the Camiſards, II. 201.
Caulet, Biſhop of Pamiers, II. 167, 217.
Cerles, the grand Vicar, II. 168.
Cevennes, the wars there for religion, I. 269. II. 132, 198.
Chailat, (Abbe du) II. 132.
Chaiſ, (de la) a Jeſuit, confeſſor to Lewis XIV. II. 224, 227.
Chamillard, miniſter of ſtate, I. 249, 262, 306. II. 120.
Chapelain, II. 31.
Charles V. (Emperor) I. 16.
Charles VI. (Emperor) I. 278, 295, 304, 323, 340, 352.
Charles VII. (Emperor) I. 353, &c.
Charles, II. (King of Spain) I. 239.

Charles I. (King of England) I. 22, 69.
Charles II. (King of England) I. 76, 78, 92, 104, 127, 151, 193.
Charles XI. King of Sweden, I. 227.
Charles XII. King of Sweden, I. 233.
Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, I. 345.
Charles IV. Duke of Lorrain, I. 45, 66, 92, 104, 133, 154.
Charles V. Duke of Lorrain, I. 168, 174, 210, 229.
Charnacé, a French envoy to the Dutch, I. 32.
Chateau-Renaud, I. 199.
Chigi, Legate a latere, I. 103. II. 28.
Chineſe, II. 251.
Chirurgery, its progreſs in France, II. 67.
Choiſeul, (General) I. 227.
Choiſi, (Abbe de) II. 89, 92.
Chomel, a Calviniſt preacher, II. 191.
Chriſtina, Queen of Sweden, I. 76, 77, 83, 345.

Cities taken, or given up.

Aloſt, I. 179. Armentieres, 112. Arnheim, 137. Ath, 112. Bailleul, 174. Barcelona, 281, 336. Beſançon, 117, 153. Bommel, 137. Bonne, 269. Bouchain, 165, 169. Briſac, 154, 229. Bruges, 303. Cambray 80, 165, 174. Candy, 125. Chapelle, 80. Carmagnol, 213. Carpi, 253, 220. Carthagena, 224. Caſal, 71, 179. Caſſal, 174. Caſtro, 103. Charlemont, 174. Charleroi, 112, 173. Comacchio, 305. Conde, 165, 169, 174. Corbie, 30. Corregio, 289. Courtray, 44, 112, 184. Cremona, 255. Crevecœur, 137. Dantzick, 348. Dixmude, 184. Doesburg, 137. Dole, 117. Doway, 112. Dunkirk, 71, 80. Frankendol, 208. Fribourg, 168. Freidlingen, 266. Furnes, 112. Gant, 168, 174, 303. Gibraltar, 279. Gironne, 220. Gravelines, 44. Guelders, 137. Hannau, 163. Heidelberg, 208. Hay, 269. Kehl, 169, 229. Landau, 44, 277. Lerida, 297. Lille, 112, 302, 314. Limbourg, 174. Limerick, 202. Luxemburg, 284. Mayence, 42, 270. Manheim, 208. Marſhal, 104. Maeſtricht, 149, 169, 355. Maubeuge, 174. Menin, 91. Meſſina,

170. Mons, 215, 228, 313. Montalban, 213. Naerdin, 137. 150. Namur, 215. Nanci, 92, 174. Naples, 45, 297. Nerwind, 218. Nimeguen, 177. Nice, 213. Noremberg, 197. Oppenheim, 208. Orſoi, 134. Oudenarde, 91, 174. Paſſau, 270. Philipsbourg, 42, 154, 168, 208. Piegaia 27. Piemont, 213. Popering, 174. Prague, 72. Quenoy, 329. Ratiſbon, 267. Reggio, 289. Rhinberg, 134. Rochelle, II. 282. Ronciglione, I. 103. St. Omers, 91. Salins, 116. Sintzheim, 154. Skenk, 137. Spire, 208. Straſbourg, 179. Suza, 213. Thionville, 41. Tollhuis, 137. Tournay, 112. Trarbach, 276. Treves, 208. Turin, 288. Valenciennes, 79, 195, 168, 174. Vellaine, 213. Veldentz, 178. Villa Franca, 213. Utrecht, 137. Weſel, 134. Worms, 208. Ypres, 91. Zutphen, 137.

Clement VIII. (Pope) II. 207.

Clement IX. (Pope) I. 120. II. 219.

Clement XI. (Pope) I. 372. II. 221, 223.

Clerambault, (Marquis de) I. 275.

Clergy of France, their revenues, II. 160, 161.

Coatquen, (Madam de) II. 47.

Cogni (General) I. 349.

Colbert, Miniſter of ſtate, I. 110, 182. II. 89, 92. 97, 127, 154, 186.

Colignists, (the) II. 178.

Coligni, (Count de) I. 74, 105.

Cologne, (elector of) I. 128.

Commerce, (French) II. 90.

Companies, of the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, II. 90. Of the North, II. 91.

Comte, (le) a Jeſuit, II. 254.

Condé, (the Prince of) I. 39, 41, 53, 47, 59, 63, 64, &c. 79, 92, 105, 131, 134, 154, 163. II. 60.

Condé, the grandſon of the preceding, I. 216. II. 57.

Conti, (Prince of) I. 53, 57.

Conti, (Armand de) grand nephew of the grand Condé, II. 216.

Corneille, (Peter) II. 8. 144.

Cotin, II. 31.

Crecy, Miniſter of France, I. 229.
Créqui, (Duke de) Ambaſſador of France at Rome, I. 102.
Créqui, (Marſhal de) I. 112, 161, 168.
Cromwel, (Oliver) Protector of England, I. 23, 76, 77.
Cromwel, (Richard) his ſon, I. 83.

D.

Damfreville, I. 185.
Dangeau, (Marquis of) II. 20, 52.
Darmſtadt, (Prince of) Miniſter of the Arch Duke Charles, in Spain, I. 260, 282.
Denmark, I. 28.
Deſbroſſes, a French Architect, II. 154.
Deſcartes I. 85. II. 126.
Deſmarets, (Miniſter of State) I. 306. II. 120.
Dhona, (Count) the Swediſh ambaſſador in Holland, I. 120.
Dieppe, I. 220.
Doſſeri, I. 134.
Dragonade, II. 193.
Dubois, firſt miniſter in France, II. 235.
Dubourg, (General) I. 274, 313.
Duché, II. 70.
Duels, I. 33. II. 101.
Dugué-Trouin, I. 224, 313.
Dunkirk, I. 43, 71, 80. 104, 221, 326, 334. II. 28. 105.
Dupas, I. 150.
Duquene, Lieutenant-General of the Navy, I. 171, 181, 186.
Duquene, his nephew, II. 196.
Duras, (Marſhal de) I. 208.

E.

Edict of Nants, II. 179, 183, 194.
Edict of Grace, II. 183.
England, I. 22, 108.
Engineers of France, II. 103.
Entragues, (Chevalier d') I. 256.

Epernon, (Duke d') II.) 101.
Eſtevan de Gamara, (a Spaniſh General) I. 56.
Eſtrade, (Count d') Ambaſſador of France in Holland, I. 32, 100.
Etrée, (John d') Vice-Admiral of France, I. 149, 199, 203. II. 106.
Etrée, (Cardinal d') Ambaſſador of France at Rome, I. 191. II. 245.
Eugene, (Prince) grandſon of Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy, born in France, which he left to ſerve the Emperor, I. 251. Serves in Hungary, ibid. Beats the Turks at Zant, 223. Carries the war into Italy againſt the French, 252. Takes Cremona, 255. Commands the armies of Germany, 271. Defeats the French at Hockſtet, 274. Is beaten by them in Italy, 283. Beats them before Turin, 289. His deſigns on Toulon and Marſeilles, 298. Gains the battle of Oudenarde, 302. Oppoſes the Peace, 309. 325. His victory at Malplaquet, 311. Takes Quenoy, 325. His army is defeated at Denain, 328. Concludes the peace at Raſtadt, 332. Beats the Turks twice, 340. His elogy, 252.
Exili II. 48.

F.

Fare (Marquis de la) II. 70.
Felix, ſurgeon to Lewis XIV. II. 67.
Fenelon, II. 139, 140, 240, 242, 245, 247.
Ferdinand II. (Emperor) I. 14, &c.
Ferdinand III. (Emperor) I. 15.
Ferté (Marſhal de la) I. 74, 79.
Feuillade (Marſhal de la) I. 105, 125, 287. II. 84.
The duke his ſon, I. 286.
Feuquieres (Marquis de) I. 222, 268, 273.
Flanders, I. 109, 120, 121, 174, 228.
Flechier, II. 31.
Fleury (Cardinal) Prime Miniſter of Lewis XV. I. 343, 354. II. 172.
Florence, I. 27.
Fontaine (de la) II. 149.
Fontagne (the Ducheſs de) II. 56.
Fontenelle, II. 142.
Forbin-janſon, I. 300.

Fouquet, (ſuperintendant) II. 13. &c.
Fourilles, (Chevalier de) I. 132.
France, I. 29, 107, 122. II. 110, 112, 115.
Franche Comtè, I. 116, &c. 152, 174.
Francis I. King of France, I. 3, 7.
Frederic II. King of Pruſſia, I. 355.
Frederic Prince of Heſſe, afterwards King of Sweden, I. 268, 292.
Fuentes (Count de) a Spaniſh general, I. 41.
Furſtenburg (Prince of) I. 174.

G.

Gacé (Count de) a French general, I. 300.
Geillard (Achilles) a Jeſuit, II. 207.
Galloway, (Lord) I. 295, &c.
Gaſton, Duke of Orleans, brother to Lewis XIII. I. 38, &c. 61, 67.
Genoa, I. 185, 355.
Genêt, (Abbe) II. 70.
Germany, I. 12. II. 196.
Glen, (General of the Imperialiſts) I. 43.
Grammont, (Marſhal de) I. 44.
Grandier, (Urbain) I. 34.
Graziana, (Count) II. 31.
Guebriant, (Marſhal) a French general, I. 30.
Guiche, (Count de) I. 135.
Guion, (la) II. 240, 242.
Guiſcard, (Count de) I. 223.
Guiſe, (Duke of) I. 45.
Guſtaphus Adolphus, King of Sweden, I, 15, 30.

H.

Hanover, (the houſe of) I. 331.
Harcourt, (Count d') a French general, I. 30. 45, 239.
Harley, Miniſter of France at Ryſwick, I. 229.
Harley de Chanvallon, II. 60, 242.
Harley, Lord Treaſurer of England, II. 200.
Haro, (Don Lewis de) a Spaniſh miniſter, I. 75, 90.
Hainault, II. 14.
Harrac, the Emperor's Ambaſſador at Madrid, I. 240.
Heinſius, grand penſionary of Holland, I. 262, 309.

Henry IV. King of France, I. 7. II. 176, &c.
Henrietta of England, married to the Duke of Orleans, I. 127. II. 19, 42.
Hervard, a Calviniſt, Comptroller-General, II. 186, 190.
Hire (la) II. 128.
Hoquincourt, (Marſhal de) I. 60, 64, 74.
Holland, I. 19, 73, 106, 126, 142, 151. II. 196.
Homberg, II. 73.
Hôpital (l') Chancellor of France, II. 133.
Humiéres, (Marquis de) a French general, I. 113, 165, 169, &c. 211.
Huygens, II. 31, 128.

I.

James, King of Scotland and England, I. 205.
James I. King of England, II. 164.
James II. King of England, I. 193, 196, &c. 244.
James, the Pretender to the crown of England, I. 205, 299.
Janſeniſm; its riſe, progreſs, and decline, II. 204, to 237.
Janſenius, (Cornelius) II. 208.
Jeſuits, II. 217, 253.
Imperiale Leſcaro, Doge of Genoa, I. 186.
Innocent X. (Pope) II. 210.
Innocent XI. (Pope) I. 188. II. 168, &c.
Innocent XII. (Pope) II. 173.
John Sobieſki, King of Poland, I. 184.
Joſeph, (the Emperor) I. 277, 293, 302, 316, 323.
Joſeph, (Father) II. 184.
Iſabella, Wife of Philip IV. King of Spain, I. 92.
Italy, I. 2, 26, 244.
John, (Don) of Auſtria, I. 79, &c.

K.

Kiuperli, Grand Viſier, I. 104, 125.
Konigſmarck, (Count de) General of the Swedes, I. 72.

L.

Lavardin, (Marquis de) Ambaſſador of France at Rome, I. 189, &c.
Laumont du Chatelêt, (Count de) I. 223.
Lauſon, (Count and afterwards Duke de) II. 35, 39.
Laws (John) I. 341.
Leopold, (the Emperor) I. 43, 74, 86, 105, 148, 182, 214.
Leopold, Duke of Lorrain, I. 230.
Leſdiguiéres, (Conſtable, II. 181.
Lingendes, (John II. 133.
Lockhart Ambaſſador of Cromwel, I. 82, 93.
Loraine, (Chevalier de) II. 47.
Lorrain, I. 54, 92, 133, 229, 352.
London, I. 108 II. 196.
Longueville, (Duke de) I. 53, 58, 136.
Longueville, (Dutcheſs of I 56. II. 219.
Lorges (de) a French general, I. 161, 165, 219.
Lewis XIII. King of France, I. 31, &c. II. 282.
Lewis XIV. King of France, troubles during his minority, I. 37, &c. Comes of age, 69. Is maſter of the kingdom, 73. Falls ſick, 87. His marriage, 91. II. 7. Loſes Mazarin, and laments him, I. 95. Governs by himſelf, 97. Gains the precedence of Spain, 100. Humbles the Pope, 103. Purchaſes Dunkirk and Mardyke, 104. Fortifies Dunkirk, ibid. Obtains Marſal, ibid. Succours the Emperor, 105. The Portugueſe, 106. The Dutch, 108. His conqueſts in Flanders, 100, &c. 214, &c. In French Compte, 119, 152. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 121. His ſecret treaty with England, 128. And with the enemies of the Dutch, ibid. His paſſage over the Rhine, 136. His conqueſts in Holland, 137. His triumphal entry into Utrecht, 137. Loſes Holland, and returns to France, 145, &c. His negotiations with all the princes, 147. He calls the Arriere-Ban, 162. His advantages by ſea, 171. The peace at Nimeguen, 174. He receives the name of Grand, 176. His acquiſitions in time of peace, 178, &c. His revenge upon Algiers, 184.

And upon the Genoeſe, 185. Receives an embaſſy from Siam, 187. Humbles the Pope, 190. Protects the King of England, 196, 199, 202. Makes the peace of Reſwick, 129. His pretenſions to the crown of Spain, 234. His reverſe of fortune in Germany, 268, &c. 292, &c. In Spain, 279, 292, &c. He ſues for peace, 307, 314, 324. His affairs are re-eſtabliſhed, 327, &c. The peace of Utrecht ſign'd, 322. The order which he eſtabliſhed in his houſehold, II. 29. His buildings, and the eſtabliſhments which he made, 98. He reforms the laws, ibid. Aboliſhes duelling, 100. The diſcipline of his armies, 101, &c. An idea of his forces at ſea, I. 99. II. 103, 105. Of his land forces, I. 152, 206. II. 103 His liberality to men of learning, 22. His eſtabliſhments in their favour, 128. His amours, 2, 20. His attachments to Madam Maintenon, 61, &c. His poſterity, 86. His ſickneſs, 75, &c. His laſt words, 76. His death, 77. His portrait, 19. His character, 27, 77, &c. Debts which he left at his death, 120. His expences, 122.

Lewis XV. King of France, I. 354. II. 77.

Louvois, miniſter of ſtate, I. 110, 139, 145, 164, 197. 182, 220. II. 38, 65, 194.

Low Countries, I. 11.

Luines (de) Conſtable, II. 182.

Lully, II. 153.

Luneville, I. 311.

Luxemburg, (Marſhal de) I. 117, 131, 146, 163, 168, 175, 211, 215, 216, 218.

M.

Mademoiſelle, I. 76. II. 41, 42.

Maigrot, the Miſſionary, II. 254, 257.

Mailli, archbiſhop of Rheims, II. 233.

Maine, (the Duke du) II. 57, 63, 74.

Maintenon, (Madam) I. 249, 276. II. 43, 54, 56, 61, &c. 256.

Man with the maſk, II. 9.

Mancini, (Mary) II. 2.
Manſard, II. 97.
Mardike, I. 44, 104, 334.
Maria Louiſa, Queen of Spain, II. 51.
Maria Thereſa, married to Lewis XIV. I. 91, 23.
Marivaux, Lieutenant general, II. 80.
Marine (the) under Mazarine, I. 32, 73. II. 104. Under Colbert, I. 148, 182. II. 104, &c. Sinks to its firſt eſtate, I. 280, 354. Is re-eſtabliſhed, II. 106.
Marlborough, (Earl and afterwards Duke of) a favourite of King James, whom he abandons, I. 277. Is declared general of the Engliſh andDutch armies, 261, His ſucceſs in Flanders, 263, 269. Is made Duke, 270. His victory at Donawert, 270. At Blenheim, 273. His rewards, 277. Defeats the French at Ramillies, 285. Would fain continue the war, 309. Contributes to the victory at Malplaquet, 311. Is diſgrac'd 320. Deprived of his employs, 321. His character, 261, 320.
Marlborough, (Dutcheſs of) I. &c. 320.
Marſan, (Count de) II. 48.
Marſin, (Marſhal de) I. 273, 291.
Martinet, I. 132.
Maſſillon, II. 136.
Maurice of Saxe, a Marſhal of France, I. 355.
Mazarine, (Cardinal) firſt Miniſter, I. 48. Is obliged to leave France, 59. Returns, 60. Is proſcribed by the parliament, 61. Leaves France a ſecond time, 69. Is recall'd, 70. Concludes the peace of Weſtphalia, 71. Attributes to himſelf the honour of the victory at Arras, 75. Continues the Spaniſh war, 75. Makes an alliance with Cromwell, 78. Gives up Dunkirk to his ambaſſador, 82. His quarrel with Turenne, 83. Endeavours to make Lewis XIV. Emperor, 86. Makes peace with Spain, and obtains the Infanta for Lewis XIV. 89, &c. Brings the King and the new Queen to Paris, 93. The ſtate of the Marine under his miniſtry, 32, 73. II. 104. His death diſtinguiſhed by a memorable eſtabliſhment, I. 94. The honours rendered to his memory, 95. His Character, 76, 82, 84.
Medavy Grancy, (Count de) I. 292. Medeci,

Medici, (the) I. 27.
Mello, (Don Franciſco de) a Spaniſh general, I. 39.
Merci, a general of the Auſtrians, I. 42.
Methuen, (Mr. now Sir Paul) the Engliſh ambaſſador to the Duke of Savoy, I. 291.
Militia under Lewis XIV. II. 102.
Military (the) before Lewis XIV. I. 31, &c. Under Lewis XIV. 87, &c.
Modena, (Duke of) I 103.
Moliere, II. 13, 25, 147.
Molina, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, II. 207.
Morillon, Grand Vicar of Louvain, II. 206.
Monaldeſchi, an Eſquire of Queen Chriſtina, I. 86.
Monſeigneur, only ſon of the King, I. 207, 219, 326.
Monſieur, brother of the King, I. 169. II. 9, 39.
Montecuculi, a general of the Emperor, I. 105, 151, 158, 161, 163.
Monteroy, governor of the Low Countries, I. 144, 146, 165, 199.
Monteſpan (Madam de) II. 36, 37, 40, 59.
Montpeſat, archbiſhop of Toulouſe, II. 168.
Mont Revel (Count de) I. 117, II. 200.
Mortemar, duke of Vivonne, general of the Gallies, I. 186, 349.
Mortemars (their ſpirit) II. 42, 43.
Muſcovy, I. 28.
Motte-Houdart, II. 150.
Muley Iſmael King of Morocco, I. 260.
Munſter (Biſhop of) I. 108, 128.

N.

Navailles (Marſhal) I. 170. II. 35.
Nemond, I. 199.
Newfoundland, I. 224.
Nitard, a Jeſuit, firſt miniſter of Spain, I. 111.
Noailles (Lewis Anthony de) II. 236, 227, 228, 242.
Noailles, (Gaſton Lewis de) II. 175.
Noailles, (Marſhal) I. 220.

O.

Olivares, the Spaniſh Miniſter, I. 18, 30.

Orange, (the Prince of) Captain General of the Dutch Army, I. 131. Is made Stadtholder, 139. Saves Holland, 143. His negotiations with the ſeveral powers, ibid. He oppoſes France, 146. His Victories, 151. The battle at Senef, 157. He is beaten at Montcaſſel, 169. Gives battle at St. Denis, 175. Dethrones King James, 196. Is made King of England, by the name of William III. 196. The battle of the Boyne, where he is wounded, 200. He is defeated at Steinkirk, 215. And at Nervind. 219 Retakes Namur, 221. Is acknowledged King by France, 228. His Death, 245. His Character, 133, 245.

Orange (the Princes of) have made the Dutch good Soldiers, I. 20. Are in the rank of greateſt Generals, 30.

Orkney (Earl of) I. 275.

Orleans (Philip Duke of) I. 291, 297, 318, 339, II. 75, 232.

Ormond (Duke of) I. 325.

Ouvrier (d') an Antiquary, II. 22.

Oxenſtern (Count d') I. 30.

P.

Palatine (the Elector) I. 155.

Palatinate (the) I. 13, 155, 208.

Paris, I. 32 II. 95, 96, 113.

Parma (Duke of) I. 27, 103.

Paſchal, II. 214, 215.

Patru (Oliver) II. 135.

Pavillon, biſhop of Alet, II. 167, 217.

Peliſſon, I. 132. II. 188, &c.

Pelletier, Miniſter of State, II. 117.

Peres (Anthony) II. 164

Perigni, Preceptor to Lewis XIV. II. 3.

Perrault (Claudius) II. 7, 98.

Perriere (Mademoiſelle) II. 215.

Perron (Cardinal) II. 163.

Peterborough (Earl of) I. 281, 297.

Peters, the Jeſuit, confeſſor to King James I. 194.

Phalk-Conſtance, miniſter of the King of Siam, I. 187.

Philip II. King of Spain, I. 16.
Philip III. King of Spain, I. 17.
Philip IV. King of Spain, I. 17, 75, 109.
Philip V. King of Spain, I. 278, 282, 295, 296, 315, 319, 340, 345.
Picart, II. 128.
Picolomini, I. 30.
Pius V. (Pope) II. 206.
Peter, King of Portugal, I. 260.
Peter Alexowitz, Czar of Muſcovy, I. 233, 344.
Plelo (Count de) I. 347.
Poinus (Admiral) I. 224.
Polignac (Cardinal) I. 231, 314.
Poland, I. 89, 231.
Pontchartrain, miniſter of State, I. 204. II. 119.
Ponticheri, a French Colony, I. 223.
Portocarrero (Cardinal), I. 238.
Portugal, I. 11, 19.
Portier, miniſter of ſtate, I. 47.
Pouſſin, II. 155.
Prâlin, (Marquiſs de) I. 257.

Q.

Quênel (Father), II. 222.
Quinaut, II. 9, 31, 149.

R.

Racine, II. 31, 58, 64, 68, 147.
Ragotſki (Prince) I. 270, 316.
Ranlucci (the Pope's Nuncio) I. 189.
Regale (the) II. 166.
Renaud, (little) I. 181.
Retz (Cardinal de) I, 49, 58, 70.
Ricci (Matthew) a Jeſuit miſſionary, II. 251.
Richlieu (Cardinal) firſt miniſter of Lewis XIII. I. 7, 31, 34, 37, 38. II. 144, 182.
Richlieu (Marſhal) I. 355.
Reincourt, I. 38.
Ripperda, the Spaniſh miniſter, I. 341.

Robert (Intendant) I. 151.
Rochfort (Marſhal) I. 162.
Rochfort, I. 180. II. 105.
Rochefoucault (Duke of) II. 135, 148.
Rohan (Duke de) II. 182.
Rome, I. 23.
Rouille, miniſter of France, at Utrecht, I. 310.
Roupli, the Perſian, II. 100.
Rouſeau, II. 151.
Rouſillon, I. 17, 30, 45, 90.
Ruiter, the Dutch Admiral, I. 107, 141, 142, 171.
Ruſſel, the Engliſh Admiral, I. 204.

S.

Sa, brother to the Portugueſe Ambaſſador in England, I. 76.
Sage (le) II. 50.
Saint Amour (Count) I. 117.
Saint Cyr (the Houſe of) II. 66, 99.
Saint Hillary, Lieutenant-General of the Artillery, I. 159.
Saint Domingo, a French Colony, I. 224.
St. Evremond, II. 18.
St. Olon, Ambaſſador of France at Genoa, I. 18.
St. Real (Abbé) II. 143.
Santerre, II. 155.
Scarron (Paul) II. 62.
Schomberg (Marſhal) I. 106, 165.
Seguier (Chancellor) II. 99.
Seignelai (Marquiſs de) I. 186, 200, 204. II. 58.
Serres, a Propheteſs of the Cevennes, II. 198.
Sicily, I. 170, 339.
Soanin, biſhop of Sens, II. 236.
Soiſſons (the Counteſs of) II. 2, 50.
Sourdiac (Marquis of) II. 8.
Sourdis, archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, I. 31.
Spain, I. 11, 16.
Spectacles, or ſhews, in France, II. 6.
Stanhope, an Engliſh General, I. 319.

Staniſlaus, King of Poland, I. 346, &c. 351.
Staremberg, Viceroy of Spain, I. 315, 319.
Stafford (Earl of) I. 324.
Styrum (Count) I. 267.
Sweden, I. 28.
Suer (le) II. 155.
Swiſs, I. 28, 152.

T.

Tallard (Marſhal) I. 268, 271, &c.
Tellier (Chancellor) II. 116, 189, 195.
Tellier (Father) II. 227, 229, 231.
Temple (Mr.) I. 119.
Teſſe (Count de) I. 226, 280.
Thou (de) II. 133.
Tilly, the Imperial General, I. 15.
Toll huis, I. 135.
Torci-Colbert miniſter of France, I. 307, &c.
Tories, the party ſo call'd, I. 321.
Torſtenſon, a Swediſh General, I. 39, 45.
Toulon, I. 180, 298, II. 105.
Toulouſe, Admiral General of France, I. 280, 283, II. 74.
Tournefort, II. 129.
Tournon (Thomas Meillard de) Patriarch of Antioch, II. 256.
Tourville, vice admiral of France, I. 199, 203. II. 106.
Treaty of Weſtphalia. I. 71. Of the Pyrenees, 90. Of Aix la Chapelle, 120. Of Nimeguen, 174. Of Ausbourg, 192. Of Loretto, 226. Of Reſwick, 227. Of Carlowitz, 233. Of Utrecht, 229. Of Aix la Chappelle, 355.
Treeves (Elector of) I. 44.
Trianon, II. 57.
Tripoly, I. 185.
Trump (Admiral) I. 73.
Tunis, I. 185.
Turks, I. 29, 105, 124, 182, 233.
Turenne (Marſhal) I. 43, 44, 56, 63, &c. 74, 79, 110, 131, 146, 150, &c. II. 47.
Turin, (the ſiege of) I. 287.

INDEX.

U.

Valbelle, I. 170.
Valette (Cardinal de la) I. 31.
Valiere (Madamoiſelle de la) II. 21.
Van-Beunning, a Dutch Miniſter in France, I. 121.
Vardes (Count de) II. 34, &c.
Varin, II. 156.
Vauban, (Marſhal) I. 114, 131, 149, 166, 208, 229, 287, 295.
Vaubrun, Lieutenant-General, I. 161.
Vaugelas, II. 135.
Vaux le-Vicomte, II. 11.
Viemar (Duke of Saxe) I. 39.
Vendome, (Duke de) I. 217, 227, 258, 283, 285, 301, 319.
Vendome (the grand Prior) I. 217.
Venice, I. 27.
Verſailles, II. 23, 85.
Vert (John de) I. 30.
Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, I. 213, 226, 298, 344. II. 61.
Villars (Duke, afterwards Marſhal) I. 264, 268, 278, 283, 311, 328, 332, 349. II. 202.
Villeroi (Marſhal) Governor of Lewis XIV. II. 3.
His Son, alſo Marſhal, I. 222, 227, 254, 269, 284, II. 48
Viviani, II 31, 32, 84.
Vivonne, See Mortemar.
Voiſin, Miniſter of ſtate, I. 306. II. 232.
Voiſin, II. 50.
Voiture, II. 134.
Voſſius, II. 31.
Uxelles (Marquis d') I. 210, 314.

W.

Waldeck (Prince) I. 211, 214.
Walpole (Robert) afterwards Earl of Orford, Prime Miniſter of England, I. 343.
Walſtein, I. 14, 30.
War (civil) I. 47, &c.
Watteville. See Bateville.